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The Social Psychology of Passive Resistance

by

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**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

Approved
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The principal purpose of this essay is not historical study, but psychological analysis and interpretation. And even this psychological attempt is itself directed, not into the labyrinths of individual motive and mental experience, but outward upon social interactions and consequences. Furthermore, we are concerned here with the social significance of a particular attitude and policy on the part of individuals and groups. This attitude is herein called passive resistance, and is perhaps sufficiently well understood for the present purpose, although it will very soon require careful analysis and definition.¹

"Passive resistance" calls to the mind of the general reader certain queer people who refuse to fight or go to war, and whose eccentricity is looked upon as a sort of aimable weakness, so long as it does not assume proportions embarrassing to the coercive or military enterprises of the State. This last consideration emphasizes the essentially sociological nature of the present inquiry. Passive resistance is primarily a form of personal reaction to social environment, and by virtue of this very fact it is, at one and the same moment, an intensely individualistic experience and a superlatively important social phenomenon. The present study is an attempt to search out, explain, and evaluate the psychic planes and currents² that exist among men because of the fact that certain of their associates persistently refuse to express their own purposes by acts of physical violence, or to

¹ See p.5 below.

² See Ross: "Social Psychology," p.1.

take part in any group enterprise of the same sort. In other words, this is a study in social psychology.

This phase of the subject has been almost entirely neglected. We may truthfully say that no literature of the same exists. The individual psychology of the passive resistant has been thoroughly set forth by the countless religious and ethical interpreters who have described the motives and conduct of the martyrs of all ages and of every faith; and we shall not find it necessary or possible to ignore this aspect of the problem.¹ But the task set here is to solve, or at least elucidate, the very practical and outward, yet much neglected, question: What has been the social significance of the individuals, and especially, the groups, that have stood for the principle of passive resistance? What social conditions produce it, and by what processes does it modify the larger community group that contains it? More specifically, how has the practice and the preaching of passive resistance affected the feelings, ideas and actions of men as members of organized society, and what impress has it made upon public opinion, political and social institutions, and governmental policy?

These problems have not been systematically studied, and this essay may be looked upon as a mere exploring expedition into a new and uncharted country. Passive resistants have contributed richly to the picturesqueness of History's page, although they have often received scant justice, and still less appreciation. However, there are signs that the part played by so-called visionary fanatics and despised sects is destined to receive more adequate treatment in future. But, however that may be, it is hardly the historian's task to distil the colorless essences of generalization, principle and law, which lurk beneath the

¹ See Chapter III, below.

fascinating, rich-hued individuality of his facts. If he has clearly traced the causal connection between phenomena unique in themselves, we may consider his task well done, and demand of the sociologist that he provide and operate his own alembic for the extraction of the abstract essences. But when the raw material of fact and historical causation is lacking, the distillation of social law must be preceded by a laborious search for the missing data. Such is the present task.

The above questions concerning the interaction between the passive resistant and the public are distinctly sociological, and, very naturally, they do not seem to have been present in the minds of historians and biographers, with a few exceptions, any more than in the minds of other men. Yet passive resistants have been accused openly, on many occasions, of persisting in a policy that disorganizes society and tends to the utter destruction of all government, and even of the State itself. Of course we are indebted to the historian for our knowledge of this fact. But he has preserved for us only the indictment; we must take the evidence and decide the case for ourselves. And a fair decision is of the utmost importance for social theory and practice.

In searching for this evidence it is necessary to gather up the scattered fragments from a wide field, and to read everywhere between the lines. Neglected pamphlets, histories of obscure sects, scraps from biographies, passing comments and stray remarks from essayists and historians, -- such is the material from which the following three chapters have been constructed. They are demanded by the necessity of acquainting the reader with the opinions, ideals, deeds and sufferings of those persons and sects in and through whom this principle, so widely manifested in time and space, has uttered itself, but only in its representative character, as an historical expression of the principle under

consideration. The following sketch is really the story of an idea, an ideal, and a policy of action. Viewed from either its philosophical or its religious side, it resolves itself into the problem of personal reaction to environment considered in the broadest sense. It concerns the action and reaction of the world and the individual. But, since the individual attains and expresses personality only as a member of a group, it involves questions as vital to public interests as they are intensely significant for individual purpose and peace of mind. Beginning as a state of mind and an attitude of personal life toward the blasts of fortune or the aggressions of others, it passes at once beyond the bound^Aary of private conduct. If one may not avenge himself for a foul personal assault, is it any less forbidden him to become a participant in the retaliation of his group toward disturbers of its peace? This involves questions of the magistrates and constabulary which have occupied a place of the very highest importance in connection with the history of all passive resisters. Beyond this lies the tremendous problem of the aggression and defense pursued or sustained by the national group against other groups. This, of course, is the question of war and militarism, and it is, doubtless, in the popular mind, the only point at issue between the passive resister and his fellow-citizens. There is indeed no greater question in all the world, and the true passive resister has faced the titanic social passions that demand war for their final expression with a heroism that has often risen to the sublime. But the problem of magistracy is no less inevitably a part of the controversy, and it involves the integrity of civil government itself. One phase of the following study will be to observe the contradictions, inconsistencies, and almost insoluble dilemmas that have beset the pathway of those passive resisters who have at various times undertaken the responsibilities of a government thrust upon them in the

course of events.

After setting before the reader a more or less connected account of the great thinkers who have enunciated the principle, and the humble and often despised sects that have sealed their testimony to it with their earthly treasures and their blood, a chapter will be given to tracing out the contradictions involved in the theory and the practice of passive resistance. ^{The} In a sixth chapter ^{an} it will be ~~the~~ attempt to set forth the psychological traits of the typical passive resistant. It will then appear how much like other men is this individual who ^{is} is so very different from them. In chapter seven the available evidence will be marshalled in an attempt to show just how passive resistance has worked. Its merits as a policy for individuals and groups will be set forth, and its weaknesses portrayed. Finally, the social laws of the whole process will be sought, and an effort will be made to generalize as broadly as the facts allow.

Before launching our historical expedition, the reader must be equipped with a modest outfit of distinctions and definitions — a kit of terms adapted to the nature of the enterprise and the character of the territory to be traversed. Even a superficial study of the various ways in which men react to the aggressions of other men, or attempt to bear down the resistance of others to their own purposes, will reveal four distinct types of reaction. The term "non-resistant," which is almost universally applied to those who refuse to bear arms, is a glaring misnomer, as will be recognized by all who come to know such individuals or groups, past or present. They are often found not only vigorously resisting aggression, but, on the other hand, they often courageously take the aggressive themselves. In a word, those who have been known as non-resistants are really non-physical, or moral resistants. They figure in the pages of history among the most effective and

unquenchable fighters the world has seen. The keepers in charge of George Fox, during one of his many imprisonments, declared, "He is as stiff as a tree and as pure as a bell; for we could never bow him." These passages indicate at one stroke two of the distinguishing traits of resistants of this type, viz., they are always in the fight, and they cannot be defeated. The only way to silence them is, usually, to exterminate them. As those who take to the sword perish by the sword, so their cause is often overthrown by the sword. But those who have despised the sword from the beginning of the contest cannot be conquered by the sword. Acquiescence through defeat and treaty is no part of their code of war. For these very aggressive people, who actively resist by all fair means except the use of physical force, we reserve the term passive, or moral, resistants. Obviously the expression is defective, because they are far from being passive, but it is perhaps the most convenient term.

Now this doctrine which denies the ethical validity of physical resistance exhibits a frequently recurring tendency to transform itself into passive submission rather than passive resistance. When this occurs, we have a type which we shall denominate as non-resistant. The passive resistant type shades off gradually into the non-resistant. That is to say, there are various degrees of resistance, of aggressive moral activity, exhibited by those who are agreed in condemning the use of physical violence. When passive resistants repudiate the State, withdraw from political activity and moral or social reforms, they become non-resistants. They have largely ceased to do battle at all. They are not warriors, hence they need no moral substitute for war.

In its extreme forms, non-resistance appears as the Stoic denial of the very worth and value of all the "goods" of life external to the lordly Will itself, and finally deprecates even surprise at the assaults of environment. It passes into a fatalistic endurance of evil, and sub-

mits in a sort of tragic dignity, or, as in the case of the Hindoo mystics, denies even the Will itself, and totally negates the last trace of personal reaction in the absolute passivity of Nirvana.

With the Hindoo ascetic the descending curve of resistance reaches its lowest point. Thence it ascends¹ through Stoic fatalism and resignation, non-resistance, and passive resistance, until it reaches what we may call, for want of a better term, legal resistance. This is the type represented in the great mass of humanity, the average citizen of an orderly political society. He abstains from private vengeance and forcible aggression, but he will resist by force of arms any assault on his property or person. The military establishment and policy on the part of the government receives his hearty and unquestioning support. Yet all his physical resistance or aggression is carried on according to the forms of law, municipal or international. He has no scruples against the use of violence on the most appalling scale, forty-two centimeter guns, mined fields, the deadly hail of shattering death poured from whole fleets of air-ships, or the murderous and unheralded underthrust of the merciless submarine — all these appalling instruments of destruction bring no pause to this type of fighter. They need only the sanction of the law, either actually existent or specially created, to sanctify them in the eyes of the legal resistant.

There remains only the terrorist to complete the scale, and then every note of resistance has been sounded. Like the legal resistant, he has no conscience on the matter of physical force; but, unlike the legalist, the terrorist has no law. With the terrorist the sheer destructive fury of physical resistance is beyond good and evil, and requires not moral justification.

¹The terms "lowest" and "highest" indicate degrees of resistance or aggression purely, and are not intended to express relative value or worth in any sense.

In passing now to a rapid review of the great historical characters and movements that have brought the issues here involved squarely before the consciences of men, it would be well to keep constantly in mind these distinctions between the non-resistant, passive resistant, legalist, and terrorist. Having identified each particular historical instance with its proper type, the corresponding attitudes toward personal enemies, criminal classes, and the constabulary, magistracy, the militia and war, — all will arrange themselves in consistent order. In all this it will be necessary to mark carefully the traits of character that stand out, and to seek the social influences that produce the characteristics and are produced by them. In so doing, the success or failure of the passive resistant policy may become more clearly discerned, and it may be possible to formulate the social laws of its emergence in the course of social evolution.

Finally, it should be noted that in thus attempting to calculate the social expediency and temporal success of passive resistance we shall be discussing something which no typical passive resistant ever bothered his head about. He simply obeyed an imperious sense of duty, devoted himself with the full measure of his loyal devotion to his compelling Ideal, his Cause, and accepted the consequences as a by-product. No calculating slave of expediency ever adopted a course of conduct which, like this, is utter foolishness to the average man. Nor will anything that might be urged against its success even in the long run of social evolution cause his heart to fail. Beyond the short-run of his own life, often yielded as a forfeit, beyond the long-run of the centuries of human history, he beholds with the eye of faith his own course as a living strand in a Divine and Eternal purpose that runs in and through, yet beyond, the things of earth and time. Our survey will disclose few non-resistants or passive resistants who are not of such conviction. It is no part of this study to question the correctness of

those beliefs. For the purposes of this essay they are the given psychological facts, entirely normal and valid, and as worthy of respect and scientific examination as any other data in all the world.

Note- In the course of a correspondence between the writer and Edward Grubb, a well known Quaker author and editor of Croydon, England, it appears that the term passive resistance is used in that country with a special and much narrower meaning than is assigned to it in this discussion. Mr. Grubb writes: "I understand the words 'Passive Resistance' to mean the refusal to obey a law, on conscientious grounds, and willingness to take the consequences.*** The most noteworthy case of 'passive resistance' in this country of recent years has been the opposition of certain Nonconformists, including a few Friends, to the Education Act of 1902." The present writer has received from Mr. Grubb the files of a pamphlet entitled "Passive Resistance." It is published annually, and records the progress of the above mentioned movement against the Education Act.

It is clear, therefore, that the expression has a special and almost technical meaning in England. It may be counted a political doctrine which contrasts with the political dogma of passive obedience to civil authority.

The two expressions, passive obedience and passive resistance as so understood express the opposite policies possible to loyal citizens in the case of any given law that is felt to be unjust.

In this essay the term has a wider meaning, precisely the same as that expressed by Mr. Grubb in the following: "Most of it (i.e. the work of English Friends in the present war.) points to something which in my judgment is far removed from 'passive resistance,' and is much more the real work of Friends-- viz. the active endeavor to overcome evil with good." In the following pages the expression means exactly that thing. It will be used however in some passages interchangeably with "non-resistance;" but in such instances the only difference in meaning is that "non-resistance" is used to express the more negative, non-political attitude, whereas "passive resistance," being a slightly stronger expression, is used to convey the idea of active moral and political resistance to evil.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE: PHILOSOPHERS AND TEACHERS

A glance at the list¹ of the sects whose names have become synonyms for passive resistance will reveal the fact that, without exception, they belong to the Aryan race, the European continent, and the Christian religion. But, although this is undeniably true as regards those organized movements that have played such a prominent part in modern history, the question naturally arises whether the generalization holds true simply because of our limited knowledge of history, or represents a genuine localization in time and space. The available evidence will probably show that the western sects were only slightly influenced by one another in their original enunciation of the doctrine. Hence it appears to have been a spontaneously generated ethical movement within the various parts of Christendom. But despite this independent origin, the question remains whether the limitation of the organized movement to European Christendom was not after all due to general environing conditions of race, religion, and social institutions common to all the various Christian sects. One way to approach this problem is to explore the ancient and Oriental world, in order, by means of an inductive study of the available facts, to arrive at a sound generalization. We shall then know whether we are dealing with a form of personal and social reaction common to humanity, or whether it actually is peculiar to civilized, European, and modern men, of the Christian faith.

Confucius

At the time of Confucius (ab. 551-478 B.C.) China was in a state

¹See chapter I.V.

of disorder and political confusion, due apparently to the contentions of feudalistic princes whom the feeble imperial authority could not control. Confucius was a statesman by nature, and a political philosopher and exponent of practical ethics by force of circumstances. He devoted his life to an effort to realize a stable and efficient government founded on a sound and just political theory, and the lack of it became, as it were, his dying lament. "When the end of his life was near, he said, 'No intelligent monarch arises; there is not one in the empire that will make me his master. My time has come to die.'"¹ Confucius had been connected with the government of the Chinese provinces, going "from state to state, and from court to court, faithfully teaching the principles of the ancient sages;"² so the passage quoted may indicate regret over the close of his own political career as well as despair for the cause of good government.

Confucius was nothing if not practical. "He praises King Shun (2255-2205 B.C.) for attaining the Mean by getting the opinions of all his people, and by determining the Mean between their two extremes."³ This is probably the origin of the celebrated Confucian doctrines of virtue tempered with moderation; of "Jin," that elusive blend of all the virtues, illuminated by learning and circumscribed by "the rules of propriety."⁴ It is benevolent, just, manly, and vigorous, and always intensely practical -- just the sort of conduct and character one ought to expect from one who could endorse King Shun's unique attempt to derive the golden mean of conduct by the application of statistical method!⁵

¹"The Ethics of Confucius, by Tozaburo Kudo, a thesis presented to the faculty of Yale University for the degree of doctor of philosophy. 1904, p. XIX.

²Kudo, op. cit., p. XIX.

³Ibid., p. 131.

⁴Ibid., p. XXII.

⁵The doctrine of the Mean also figures largely in Aristotle's Ethics, but it is with him "a balance of mind." See "The Moral Philosophy of Aristotle" by Walter M. Hatch and Others, p. 274. The Chinese work entitled the "Doctrine of the Mean" was probably written by a grandson of Confucius. See Kudo, op. cit., p. XVI. It is not meant to be implied here that

But Confucianism had also its idealistic side, even if rather sober in hue. All the world knows that the Chinese sage formulated the Golden Rule in the negative form: "What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others." But, though negative in form, it was probably intended by Confucius as a positive rule. Moreover, according to Dr. Kudo,¹ he teaches against the avenging of injuries received, and counsels his hearers to assail their own wickedness rather than the wickedness of others. The pardoning of "small faults" is named as one of the duties of an officer of the government. So we may not only say, with Kudo, that "There is in general no vindictive spirit," but may even attribute to Confucius a genial spirit and an attitude of kindly forbearance.

Nevertheless, the Reverend Master King² is not to be reckoned among the true passive resistants, either on the side of group violence, for he names a military equipment as the third requisite of government,³ or on the side of personal retaliation, as appears most strikingly in his interesting encounter with L  o Tse, described as follows by Professor Legge:⁴ "We have rejoiced in his enunciation of the golden rule; L  o Tse had advanced even beyond this in the field of morality, and said, 'Return good for evil.' Some of Confucius' school heard the maxim, and, being puzzled by it, consulted the master. He also was puzzled, formed a syllogism in his mind about it, and replied, 'What then will you return for good? Recompense injury with justice, and return good for good.'" Dr. Kudo thinks it "possible" that Confucius is here using the word "injury" to indicate "not trivial offenses, but serious wrongs which a man cannot tolerate without demanding justice." In the light of the teachings quoted above, this is not only "possible," but probable. The same au-

the "Mean" in the thought of Confucius was as mechanical as King Shun's method would indicate.

¹ Ibid., pp. 18-20. ² The Chinese title for Confucius. ³ Kudo, op.cit., p. XXIX.

⁴ "The Religions of China, by James Legge, Professor of the Chinese language and literature in the University of Oxford;" pp. 143-144.

thor adds that, "According to Choo He, 'justice' here means 'fairness in dealing with injury, without selfish motives!'"¹ Kudo thinks this has been unjustly interpreted as the spirit of "Eye for eye and tooth for tooth." Professor Legge also finds it impossible to "think that Confucius had any thought of vengeance when he used the term," but he wishes that the sage "had risen to the height of the thought that was put before him."²

Lão Tse

Lão Tse, the founder of Tàoism, was, apparently, a contemporary of Confucius, although Tàoism as a religious system did not exist until some time after the commencement of the Christian era, according to Professor Legge. Whether he and Confucius ever met or not is problematical, but the above described skirmish through their disciples brings out very forcibly the difference between their ethical systems. Lão Tse was a mystic, who finally withdrew from the world, while Confucius died in its midst.³ The founder of Tàoism drew his moral principles not, like those of Confucius, from the average opinion, practical situation, and social experience of men,⁴ but by intuition, from a world of mystical contemplation. Professor Legge describes Tàoism as "the style of action *** proceeding from a mind in a state of calm repose *** without bias of partiality," and characterized by such principles that "humanity has a distinguished place in the teachings." Holding humility, as the one supreme thing, in his embrace, the sage, says Lão Tse, "is a pattern to the world. He is free from self-display, and so he shines; from self-assertion, and so he is distinguished; from boasting, and so his merit is acknow-

¹Kudo, op.cit., pp.19-20. ²Legge, op.cit., pp.143-4. ³Kudo, op.cit., p.XXI I

⁴Some would deny to Confucius the title of a religious teacher in any sense, but this view implies too narrow a conception of religion. Confucius really gathered together and expanded the ancient religious tenets of the Chinese race, in which ancestor worship held a prominent place. His system was of course a moral system inasmuch as it was founded on the mores or customs, and this is what is meant by the "rules of propriety."

ledged; from self-conceit, and his superiority is allowed. It is because he is thus free from striving that therefore no one can strive with him.¹ This noble ethical program is founded by L  o Tse upon a law of universal compensation, according to which "the incomplete becomes complete; the crooked becomes straight; the hollow becomes full; the worn becomes new; he who desires little gets much; he who desires much goes astray."²

This last expression suggests a natural transition from T  oism to Buddhism, because of its remarkable resemblance to the sayings of Gautama. But a final estimate must first be made of the two great Chinese Teachers, in order to grasp their relative importance for the purposes of the present study. It is evident that Confucius is the typical legal resistant of the noblest order. Scorning petty spitefulness and eschewing private vengeance, his retaliation is according to the forms of law and through the constituted authorities. Therefore he proposes to repay injury with justice. He leaves a margin for forbearance and apparently for forgiveness, but it is rather limited in scope, and he squarely repudiated L  o Tse's proposal to return good for evil. In this connection we may credit Confucius with the fact that he remained at his post in society, while L  o Tse fled into ~~late~~ solitude, and in so doing discredited his own principles, in the eyes of all who are in search of a rule for the actual conduct of social life among men as they are.

Yet, after all is said for the doctrine of the Mean, and of "Jin" as a sort of moral "reciprocity,"³ there is something disappointing about the answer of Confucius. His teaching is purely of the earth, and it should not surprise one to find it "earthy" when placed alongside the mystical idealism of L  o Tse. The latter's teaching may be dubbed un-

¹ Legge, op.cit., pp.220-22q. Italics are the present writer's.

² Ibid.

³ Kudo, op.cit., p.211.

practical and visionary, especially by legalists like Confucius. But that is precisely the source of its value. It is the result, not of calculation, but of spiritual vision. Perhaps it was just this lack of moral vision that limited the benevolence of Confucius to "a virtue which the superior class of men exercises in relation to inferiors," and which caused him to give the impression that "he did not mean to apply this to human beings in general, but rather to his own countrymen."¹ Dr. Kudo, himself reared as a Japanese Confucianist, has given us an invaluable key to the explanation of passive resistance when he says: "Confucius could not understand the height of benevolence beyond the human relations in society. His moral ideal was not, 'Be thou perfect as the Heavenly Father,' but the superior man."²

It is not asserted that L  o Tse had attained this high spiritual conception in all clearness, but perhaps his teaching was more universal and more actively benevolent than that of Confucius simply because it was more idealistic, more "heavenly."

But, after all, Confucius faced the whole complex situation. For the individual he counselled kindness and the elimination of a vengeful spirit; in the magistrate and constabulary he pointed out the proper agencies of a just redressing of injuries; and the military establishment he held to be an essential element of the State. What would be L  o Tse's conclusions on the last two points we can only surmise. He does not seem to have wrestled with those problems of political practice which, as we shall see, have proved such stumbling blocks to passive resistance in all ages. But on the question of the ethical quality of personal reaction toward injuries received he rose above Confucius, and clearly enunciated the power of meekness to conquer, of the true nobility of returning good for evil. The net result of the Chinese philos-

¹Ibid., p. 50.

²Ibid., p. 21.

ophy is therefore a very clear and noble statement of the doctrine of non-resistance. But its supra-personal, or social, applications were not worked out, and no organized sect, devoted to its practice, arose. It exists, moreover, almost entirely as the isolated utterances of a single philosopher, Lâo Tse; but the beauty and depth of his formulation of the ethical principle can hardly be surpassed: "It is because he is thus free from striving that *** no one can strive with him."¹

Buddha

We have heard Lâo Tse declare that "he who desires much goes astray," and in this expression is seen his connection with the root idea of Buddhism. The Chinese mystic lived in the Sixth century B.C., but his teachings were formulated in a religious system many centuries later. Gautama, the founder of Buddhism, is assigned to the Fifth century, but his teaching is itself rooted in the much more ancient Brahminism. To trace out any possible reciprocal influence between the two teachers would involve historical and textual research entirely outside the range of a study like the present one. The important point to notice is that the teachings of both had their root in a mystical attitude which repudiated desire. It is so well known that Hindoo religion proceeds by suppression of the impulses and ambitions of men that no detailed proof is necessary here. Resigning by an act of the will "this pleasing anxious being" even while yet in the flesh, it seeks to sink and dissolve the individual consciousness in the measureless ocean of the Absolute Totality of Things. With this absolute surrender of the Egoistic consciousness there seems to come a strange attitude of impartiality and lack of bias, which makes no exception even in favor of one's own individual fortunes.²

¹ Legge, op.cit., p.221.

² "The fifth meditation is the meditation on serenity, in which you rise above love and hate, tyranny and oppression, wealth and want, and regard your own fate with impartial calmness and perfect tranquility." Carus: "The Gospel of Buddha According to Old Records," p.154.

In so far as this takes place, there is an actual diminishing of the real volume of life at its very fountain head; since, as Professor Perry has declared; "the mark of life is partiality for itself," and the very drama of universal life is "the long struggle of interest against inertia and indifference."¹ Yet along with this negative process there goes an expansion of mind and heart which expresses itself in a positive attitude of love toward all men and sometimes of all things. This two-fold experience is well shown in the story of Prince Gautama, the Buddha, i.e., the "Enlightened One."

Reared in the delicate luxury of his father's court, and long shielded from every knowledge of human misery, when finally the wretchedness and woe of the world beat like a devastating flood against his heart, he fled from his own fortune into the wilderness, and "directed his steps to the blessed Bodhi-tree beneath whose shade he should accomplish his search."² Here, after long tarrying and meditation, he attained Buddhahood, or, in other words, became "Enlightened." The first message flowing from such an experience as this would possess an intrinsic interest in any case, but its importance for the present research is extraordinary. Says Carus:³ "The Blessed One having attained Buddhahood pronounced this solemn utterance: 'Blissful is freedom from malice.'"⁴ Blissful is absence of lust and the loss of all pride that comes from the thought "I am." I have recognized the deepest truth, which is sublime and peace-giving, but difficult to understand!" In this remarkable revelation from out Gautama's mystical illumination, we perceive an intimate connection between a peace-loving, peace-giving non-resistance, on the one hand, and the mystical feeling of impersonal enlargement of soul

¹ "The Moral Economy," by Ralph Barton Perry, p. 10.

² Carus, op. cit., p. 29.

³ Ibid., p. 35.

⁴ Italics are the present writer's.

upon the other.¹ It is emphasized here because it will occur again and again in the history of passive resistance.

We thus see that Buddha's first enlightened utterance was to sound the praises of that blissful state that enjoys "freedom from malice." As Warren says: "He was full of tact, and all his ways were ways of peace.*** Anger had no place in his character *** and he had equally none in his religio-philosophic system."² His good-will was "without measure toward all the world, above, below, around; unstinted, unmixed with any feeling of making distinctions or showing preferences."³ This kindness is a flow of continuous acts, and it extends to the animal kingdom, on the part of the teachers at least, as is to be seen in the "Story of the Goose-Killing Priest."⁴ A young priest, soon after his ordination, was loitering with a companion on the river's bank. As two wild geese came flying by, the youth, in a spirit of banter, wantonly hurled a potsherd and wounded the fowl, then despatched it. A company of priests came running up and carried the offender before the Teacher.

"'Is it true,' asked the Teacher, 'what they say, that you have taken life?'

'Reverend Sir, it is true.'

'Priest, *** it was a very serious sin for you to take life after you had retired from the world under the dispensation of such a Buddha as I. A priest should always keep his hands, his feet, and his voice under restraint.' So saying, he pronounced this stanza:

¹ For discussions of mysticism see Jones: "Studies in Mystical Religion," chapters , and "Spiritual Reformers in the 16th. and 17th. Centuries;" also Royce: "The World and the Individual," Vol. I, ch. IV, sec. VII.

² "Buddhism in Translations," by Henry Clarke Warren, p. 1. Vol. III. of "Harvard Oriental Series."

³ Carus, op. cit., p. 55.

⁴ Warren, op. cit., p. 433.

'Restrained of hand, restrained of foot,
 Restrained of voice, restrained in all,
 Reflective, calm, content alone,
 'Tis he that is a priest in truth.'

Again, a certain priest having been killed by a snake, the matter was reported to the Blessed One, who said:

"Surely now, O priests, that priest never suffused the four royal families of the snakes with his friendliness. For if, O priests, that priest had suffused the four royal families of the snakes with his friendliness, that priest, O priests, would not have been killed by the bite of a snake."¹

Probably, as has been suggested,² this scrupulous regard for every form of life was the outgrowth of the Buddhist doctrine of transmigration of souls; and not purely a "Sublime State of Friendliness," as the sub-title in Warren's translation denominates the incident. The purpose underlying it is not absolutely unselfish. It apparently represents one of the works by which salvation is earned, for even Sakka, "the leader of the gods," is represented as saying:

"Myself I seek to keep subdued
 In interest of my future weal."³

Fantastic as many of the Buddhistic legends and sayings are, there are many passages of striking beauty and deep insight. Nowhere is this more true than when we leave the doctrines of self-denial and restraint as abstract virtues, and observe how the Buddhist would react to injuries received. Aiken⁴ says that the teaching of Gotama⁵ on the

¹ Ibid., p.302.

² Aiken: "The Dhamma of Gotama the Buddha and the Gospel of Jesus the Christ," p.38.

³ Warren, op.cit., p.427. ⁴ Op.cit., p.40.

⁵ The Southern Hindoo form for Gautama.

on the forgiveness of injuries is clearly enunciated in the Laws of Manu, which contain the earlier Brahmanistic teachings. It is there enjoined upon the ascetic that he "patiently bear hard words, let him not insult anybody; and let him not become anybody's enemy for the sake of this (perishable) body. Against an angry man let him not in return show anger, let him bless when cursed, and let him not utter speech, devoid of truth, scattered at the seven gates."

This noble teaching thus clearly present in ancient Brahminism, was made still more explicit and prominent in Buddhism. Nowhere in literature, perhaps, can be found a finer picture of the really unassailable dignity and elevation of him who benignantly endures abusive speech than in the following noble passage from Gotama's career:

"'If a man foolishly does me wrong, I will return to him the protection of my ungrudging love; the more evil comes from him, the more good shall go from me; the fragrance of goodness always comes to me, and the harmful air of evil goes to him.' A foolish man learning that Buddha observed the principle of great love which commends to return good for evil, came and abused him. Buddha was silent, pitying his folly. The man having finished his abuse, Buddha asked him, saying: 'Son, if a man declined to accept a present made to him, to whom would it belong?' and he answered: 'In that case it would belong to the man who offered it.' 'My son,' said Buddha, 'You have railed at me, but I decline to accept your abuse, and request you to keep it yourself. Will it not be a source of misery to you?' (While Buddha continued in similar strain the man stood speechless before him, when the teacher added:)'A wicked man who reproaches a virtuous one is like one who looks up and spits at heaven; the spittle spoils not the heaven, but comes back and defiles his own person. The slanderer is like one who flings dust at another when the wind is contrary; the dust does but return on him who threw it. The virtuous man cannot be hurt, and the misery that the other

would inflict comes back on himself.' The abuser went away ashamed, but he came again and took refuge in the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha."¹

This total elimination of anger is one of the cardinal principles of the Buddhist ethics, but the teaching is marred by an appeal to a process of spurious analysis. For example, chiding a priest for giving way to his temper, the Master asks: "Tell me what you are angry with? Are you angry with the hair of the head, or with the hair of the body, or with the nails, etc? *** For a person who has made the above analysis, there is no hold for anger, any more than there is for a grain of mustard seed on the point of a nail, or for a painting in the sky."² The significance of this analytical process for the explanation of passive resistance, and especially of non-resistance, will be discussed in connection with Stoicism, but its more ancient origin should be noted at this point.

It is ^{to} this problem of personal retaliation that Buddhism, which Aiken calls "one of the gentlest of religions,"³ makes its most positive contribution. We may even call it the rudiments of a social psychology of passive resistance. In the first place it should be observed that this phase of the Buddhist doctrine is founded on empirical study, for "the Blessed One observed the ways of society and noticed how much misery came from malignity and foolish offences done only to gratify vanity and self-seeking pride."⁴ To this is added the further observation that "the whole world dreads violence."⁵ Seeking a remedy for this dreadful destructive force which lurks in the bosom of society,

¹ Carus, op.cit., 140-146. The expression means, "took refuge in the Enlightened One, the doctrinal system, and the brotherhood of disciples."

² Warren, op.cit., p.159.

³ Op.cit., p.106.

⁴ Carus, op.cit., 145.

⁵ Aiken, op.cit., quoting Lillie.

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the sage arrives at a positive principle: "By love alone can we conquer evil." Then, advancing a long stride in his psychological analysis, he enunciates a law of human social interaction: "Say no harsh words to thy neighbor. He will reply to thee in the same tone."¹

In the beautiful story of Prince Dîrghâyû this principle is applied. King Brahmadatta having conquered, driven into exile, and finally hunted to death King Dîrghêtî and his queen, lived in constant terror of the anticipated vengeance of their son, Prince Dîrghâyû, who had escaped. In the course of events, the Prince came into the employ of the murderer of his parents, and was chosen to serve him as personal attendant. One day, while on the hunt, the tired King fell asleep with his head in the lap of the Prince. The latter drew his sword to avenge his parents, when the parting words of his murdered father rang in his ears: "Not by hatred is hatred appeased. Hatred is appeased by not-hatred alone." The Prince stayed his hand and sheathed his sword, but when the King awoke he again brandished the weapon over the latter's prostrate form, at the same time disclosing his own identity. As the King begged piteously for his life, "Dîrghâyû said without bitterness or ill-will, 'How can I grant you your life, O king, since my life is endangered by you? It is you, O king, who must grant me my life.'

"And the king said: 'Well, my dear Dîrghâyû, then grant me my life, and I will grant you your life.'"²

When they had sworn cessation of hostility, the King asked for the interpretation of King Dîrghêtî's dying injunction; whereupon the Prince explained the same as follows: "When he said, 'For not by hatred is hatred appeased; hatred is appeased by not-hatred,' he meant this: You have killed my father and mother, O king. If I should deprive you

¹ Ibid., p. 265. Italics mine.
² Carus, op. cit., p. 93.

of life, then your partisans would deprive me of life; my partisans again would deprive those of life. Thus by hatred, hatred would not be appeased. But now, O king, you have granted me my life, and I have granted you your life; thus by not-hatred has hatred been appeased."¹ And, so the Blessed One declares, "This is an eternal law."²

With this teaching on personal retaliation and non-resistance, the positive contribution of Buddhism to a theory of passive resistance is ended. When confronted by "Simha, the general," with a very definite query, the Teacher committed himself explicitly against the literal application of his principle to both magistracy and war. "Simha said: 'I am a soldier, O Blessed One, and am appointed by the king to enforce his laws and to wage his wars. Does the Tathâgata³ who teaches kindness without end and compassion for all sufferers, permit the punishment of the criminal? and further, does the Tathâgata declare that it is wrong to go to war for the protection of our homes, our wives, our children, and our property? Does the Tathâgata teach the doctrine of a complete self-surrender, so that I should suffer the evil-doer to do what he pleases and yield submission to him who threatens to take by violence what is my own? Does the Tathâgata teach the doctrine that all strife, including such warfare as is waged for a righteous cause, should be forbidden?'"

The reply of Buddha is equally definite, and is contained in a very elevated passage, but it will best serve the present purpose to condense it considerably, yet following very closely the language of the translation.⁴ Point by point, the answer is: "He who deserves punishment must be punished, and this conflicts in no way with the injunction concerning universal love and kindness. The criminal is not punished through the ill-will of the judges, but on account of his own e-

¹Ibid., pp. 93-94.

²Ibid., p. 87.

³i.e. the Perfect One.

⁴Ibid., pp. 126-129.

vil-doing. The evil-doer's own acts have brought upon him the injury that the executor of the law inflicts, and the magistrate, in punishing, shall not harbor hatred in his breast.

"All warfare is lamentable, but the Tathâgata does not teach that those who go to war in a righteous cause, after having exhausted all means to preserve the peace, are blameworthy. He must be blamed who is the cause of war. The successful general is he who, moderating himself and extinguishing all hatred from his heart, lifts up his down-trodden foe and offers him peace and brotherhood. Struggle then, O general, courageously; and fight your battles vigorously, but be a soldier of truth and the Tathâgata will bless you.

"The Tathagata teaches a complete surrender of self, but he does not teach a surrender of anything to those powers that are evil, be they men or gods or the elements of nature. Struggle there must be, for all life is a struggle of some kind. But he that struggles should look to it lest he struggle in the interest of self against truth and righteousness."

It thus appears that the Hindoo philosophy, like the Chinese, does not extend the principle of non-resistance to group relations. It, however, greatly elaborates the personal rendering of good for evil, enunciated by Lao Tse. But no organized movement arose to bear witness to the doctrine. This was doubtless due to several causes. The social constitution had not advanced to that point where voluntary organization for social purposes is desired or tolerated; being purely personal, the beliefs outlined above caused no embarrassment to the political authorities, hence persecution did not arise to weld together those who held non-resistant beliefs; and, finally, the sects of India have always been ascetic and individualistic rather than ethical and social. Oman¹ de-

¹"The Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India," by John Campbell Oman, p. 291 ff.

votes the equivalent of four or five chapters to his discussion of "Hindu Ascetic Sects and Their Subdivisions." His account yields no trace of any organized movement for passive resistance. In another connection, after describing the motives that support the terrible self-mortifications practiced by these ascetics, he concludes that "it is as clear as day that these motives have no conscious or unconscious relation to ethics".¹ This we may accept with reference to social ethics at least.

Zoroaster

Zoroastrianism, like Buddhism and Confucianism, arises in the mists of antiquity. Miraculous power and preservation from harm are ascribed in the Pahlavi texts¹ to the child Zaratûst. His "compassionate disposition" is emphasized, and illustrated by his kindness and mercy toward those in distress, both men² and beasts.³ But no trace of non-resistance to hostile aggression appears. On the contrary, a quaint legend records his contest with Dûrêsrôbô, one of the "Karaps, or priests of those times."⁴ The latter said, "'I will utterly destroy thee.'*** Zaratûst spoke interruptingly thus: 'With complete mindfulness I will look upon thee with both eyes, and will utterly destroy thee.' And, for a long time, they constantly looked, one at the other, with unshrinking gaze." Dûrêsrôbô, finally cowed, rode away, but "when he had gone a little way, he fell off the horse, through severe distress, and died."⁵ This naïve account is interesting because it shows that the Zoroastrian ideal character was capable of a very vigorous resistance.

It is worth while to note, as above, the negative contribution of

¹ Translated by E.W. West in "Marvels of Zoroastrianism," being Vol. XLVII of "Sacred Books of the East."

² Ibid., p. 152.

⁴ Ibid., p. X.

³ Ibid., p. 153.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 150-151.

Zoroastrianism to the present sketch, because we find that a historian of the modern Parsees of India¹ has found it necessary to say that "there is no objection whatever to a Parsi embracing the profession of a soldier on religious grounds, as has been erroneously supposed by some European writers." He then shows at some length that it is because of certain economic conditions that the Parsis have been prior² to the time when he wrote almost without a representative in the English Army of India, and that no non-resistant principle or lack of fighting spirit can account for their seeming aversion to a military career. These, and the preceding considerations, would seem to eliminate Zoroastrianism from the list of passive resistant systems.

Mohammed

The religion of Mohammed is at the farthest remove from the principle now under consideration. It was at the head of a victorious army that the prophet forced the adhesion of the Arab chiefs. Known as the religion of the sword, it has been the scourge and terror of nations, as might well be expected of a faith which teaches that those who die fighting for the sacred cause shall enjoy the delights of Paradise, "content with their past endeavors."³

The Stoics

The martial spirit of the Greeks and the Romans would forbid us to expect to find in their reigning philosophy any doctrine of passive resistance. Plato assigns to the warrior class a place of honor in his picture of the ideal State,⁴ they being second only to the philosophers. Moreover, it will be recalled that Socrates, in his criticism of music, values most highly the strains of courage and temperance. "I want to

¹ Dosabhai Framji Karaka: "History of the Parsis," vol. I, p. 101.

² In 1905.

³ Robinson: "An Introduction to the History of Western Europe," p. 70.

⁴ See "The Republic" of Plato.

have one warlike, which will sound the word or note which a brave man utters in the hour of danger and stern resolve, or when his cause is failing, and he is going to wounds or death *** and another to be used by him in times of peace and freedom of action.*** These two strains I ask you to leave."¹ Socrates thus makes provision for war and for a specialized warrior class, in his social division of labor. Nevertheless Socrates himself pursued the tactics of a typical passive resistant, inasmuch as he spent his life resisting, solely by intellectual and moral means, the traditional beliefs and institutions of his day, and when condemned to drink the poison hemlock, he scorned either to resist by violence or to flee into exile. In his noble defense² he enunciated many of the cardinal truths that underlie the passive resistant policy. Referring to his accusers, he says, "Meletus and Anytus will not injure me: they cannot; for it is not in the nature of things that a bad man should injure a better than himself. I do not deny that he may, perhaps, kill him, or drive him into exile, or deprive him of civil rights; and he may imagine, and others may imagine, that he is doing him a great injury: but I do not agree with him."³

Aristotle, in the "Nicomachean Ethics,"⁴ proposes to regulate, rather than eliminate "the temper," holding that "the man who is deficient in a proper feeling of anger is a kind of impassive person, and his mental state (may be classed as) impassivity."⁵ Nevertheless, he adds, "we incline to regard the excess of anger as more widely opposed to the virtuous ideal than its defect. Excess is more generally prevalent:

¹ The "Republic," Bk. III., Quoted by Perry, in "The Moral Economy," p. 203.

² See the "Apology" of Plato.

³ Ibid., section 31.

⁴ Translated by Walter M. Hatch and Others in "The Moral Philosophy of Aristotle." Page references are to this work.

⁵ Ibid., p. 99.

it is more characteristic of human nature to avenge oneself rather than to forgive. Again, in the intercourse of life, ill-tempered men are worse than the easy-going.¹ In the case of an act of wrong, to suffer the wrong is to fall short of the due proportion, while to commit the wrong is to go beyond it.² Still it is a worse evil to do a wrong than to suffer one.³ But he is far from counting anger an evil in itself, as do the Tâoists, Buddhists and Stoics; for Aristotle concludes that "a state of mind in virtue of which, when we are angry, we are angry only against persons, and on occasions when our anger is right and shown in a proper manner, and justified by all the circumstances"-- that such a state of mind is "equable, and in harmony with its surroundings," and "praiseworthy."⁴

On the whole, the attitude of Greek thought would support a vigorous use of force on the part of the individual, the constabulary, and the state in its military capacity, provided all these forms of resistance are tempered by law and justice.

It is in Stoicism alone that there appears any clear note of passive resistant philosophy among the Greeks and Romans. Therefore it is of considerable significance to note that the Greco-Roman system of thought known by that name was founded and developed, in the main, by representatives or descendants of "the Hellenistic mixed ^Races of the Orient."⁵ The prevalence in both Oriental and Stoic philosophy of the habit of radical analysis, as a support for passivity, has already been noted. The following passage from the Roman Stoa might have been uttered, without the change of a syllable, on the banks of the Ganges.

"What is the body? It is a complex of skin, bones, hair, blood, and other

¹ Ibid., p. 225.

² Ibid., p. 275.

³ Ibid., p. 298.

⁴ Ibid., p. 225.

⁵ Windelband: "A History of Philosophy," p. 162.

nastiness."*** "Just consider sensibly what the body is,(says the Stoic).Put it upon the dissecting-table,or regard it as it will be in the charnel-house,and see how all your false opinions,your vices,will wither up at once."¹

Bigg has pointed out very convincingly the essential fallacy and weakness of this logical process. "It leaves out the one thing which is important,the relation of flesh to emotion,and of both to intelligence; in a word it leaves out the living personality. And therefore it really leaves out morality,at any rate it deprives morality of any reasonable basis. For what true fellowship can there be in a world of thinking corpses?"²

But the above implication might easily be taken so radically as to do injustice to Stoicism. Windelband³ has shown that the Stoic possessed the high ideal of a universal society in which "gods and men together form one great rational living structure,in which every individual is a necessary member." But it must be admitted that this was a very "high-flying idealism," which failed to coincide with any existing national state.⁴ Yet a vigorous sense of duty led the Stoic to recognize his obligations as a citizen of the actual world,sadly devitalized and emaciated though it appeared in the light of his drastic analysis. We find that Seneca urged the duty of cooperation with the State, not only in seeking the honorable offices,but in performing the humblest duties of the citizen.⁵ Epictetus exclaims:"What,then!(some one will say),do you philosophers teach us a contempt of kings?' By no means. Which of us teaches any one to contend with them about things

¹ Quoted by Charles Bigg in his Introduction to "The Meditations of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus,translated by John Jackson."See pp.40-41.

² Ibid. ³ Op.cit.,p.173-176.

⁴ With Cicero,"the Stoic universal state"*** takes on the outlines of the "Roman Empire":- Windelband,p.177.

⁵ "The Creed of Lucius Annaeus Seneca,"by Virginia Beauchamp,p.30.

of which they have the command?"¹ And again he is very explicit: "Let no wise man estrange himself from the government of the state; for it is both wicked to withdraw from being useful to the needy, and cowardly to give way to the worthless. For it is foolish to choose rather to be governed ill than to govern well."²

The tone of this last passage, however, illustrates the truth of Windelband's statement that, in the Stoic's view, "the wise man, in the self-sufficiency of his virtue, needs the state as little as he needs any other society."³ But rather than submit to be mis-ruled by non-virtuous fools, we see that Epictetus urges upon the wise and virtuous the duty of ruling themselves, and assisting others to do so. Thus, while Roman Stoicism preached for the individual a negative and decidedly passive attitude, as we shall see, it formulated no doctrine of non-resistance as applied to constabulary or military affairs. Its non-resistance, like that of Lao Tse and Gautama, was distinctly personal, applying only to the relations of man to man in private life.

As formulated by Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius, the one a poor, old, crippled slave, the other an idolized emperor on the throne of the world, the ethic of Stoicism is transcendently noble, yet tinged with incurable sadness. It is easy to see how a poor slave, whose crippled body an outrageous fortune had reduced to bondage, should find a refuge for his unconquerable spirit in the denial of the essential worth of all the things held dear by a world of masters. But it would be easy to ascribe too much importance to these outward circumstances of Epictetus's life. For even Marcus Aurelius, whom fortune had so prodigally favored that he had to admonish himself to "take heed lest the purple stain the soul," pictures life and duty in precisely similar perspec-

¹ "The Works of Epictetus," translated by Thomas Wentworth Higginson; Vol. I, p. 97.
² Ibid., vol. II., p. 274.
³ Op. cit., p. 173.

tive and proportions.

Epictetus¹ emphasizes in numberless ways the thought that man's estimates and emotions are the essence of his misfortunes. To one who groans, "I have lost my coat," the answer is "Ay, because you had a coat." Has your neighbor indeed stolen your goods? "What then, are you a piece of furniture?" It is the view we take of these things that affronts us, and not the outward happening. "When, therefore, any one provokes you, be assured that it is your own opinion which provokes you." The lordly will is thus made the master of life, and, enthroning it in this way, Epictetus actually practiced what he taught, and went to exile, fetters, and death "smiling, and cheerful and serene." But it is a victory won by a sweeping relinquishment of territory. Since one is to become unconquerable by entering into no combat in which it is not in his power to conquer,³ the range of his striving is limited, in the last analysis, to mastering his own subjective states. Discounting, as external to the rational self and therefore insignificant, wealth, reputation, wife, children, friends -- in short all that other men have by universal assent agreed to call good -- the Stoic, says Epictetus, should "contemplate death, change, torture, exile."⁴ It is thus that the kindly, yet proud spirited, philosopher-slave made his last stand. It is the Fabian strategy of victory through planful and dignified retreat, applied to the moral life. This is one of those traits that have rendered passive resistants so baffling to oppressors of all ages. They leave the violent and bloody man to batter down laboriously the empty fortresses from which the soul has quietly withdrawn. Hence Bigg rightly says that Stoicism "is indeed a theory of tyrannicide."⁵

But even Stoic endurance has its limits, and so Epictetus reminds

¹ Higginson, op.cit.

⁴ Ibid., p.114.

⁵ Introduction to Jackson's "Meditations of Marcus Aurelius," p.47.

³ Ibid., vol.II., p.223.

his disciples to "remember the principal thing,-- that the door is open." That door is suicide, and here we note another striking similarity between the Stoic and Buddhist philosophies. Both tended to end in self-destruction, in voluntary abandonment of the dismantled wreck of personal existence. Buddha, had to exhort his priests, whose good "qualities (were) such a cause of welfare to men," to endure the flesh for the sake of the unenlightened. Thus "the Blessed One *** out of compassion for men, laid down this precept: 'Priests, let no one destroy himself, and whosoever would destroy himself, let him be dealt with according to law.'¹ Now we find Epictetus taking comfort in the thought that through that same door of self-destruction he might enter at need "an abode open to all, and put off my last garment, this poor body of mine; beyond this no one has any power over me." The last clause indicates clearly that it is really a phase of resistance, the last bitter paradox of complete non-resistance -- "but, if you stay, do not complain."²

The utterances of the Stoics are not only supremely heroic; they breathe an atmosphere of pious devotion. At the same time a strong current of fatalism pervades the whole. Marcus Aurelius exhorts to "remember that all that befalls man befalls him justly, *** (and) is for the good of that man at that time." Nay, more than that, it "is so prescribed because it is suitable to his destiny". Therefore "let us then receive the prescription in the same spirit as those of Aesculapius."³ Turning to Epictetus we learn that the Great Physician who thus prescribes is God. Under a slightly different figure, we read that in any case of difficulty the disciple is to "remember that God, like a gymnastic trainer, has pitted you against a rough antagonist," (to the end) "that you may be an Olympic conqueror." And do not go to the trial with moanings and self-commiserations, for "will you bring disgrace up-

¹ Warren, op.cit., p.437.
pp.82, 98.

² Higginson, op.cit., p.80.

³ Jackson, op.cit.,

on his summons, who hath conferred such an honor upon you, and thought you worthy of being produced as a witness in such a cause?"¹ This intimate blending of fatalistic submission with pious devotion is explained by the fact that Stoicism was really an elective system of thought, by means of which philosophy sought to repair the break down of the more ancient Greek world-view, and to meet at the same time the growing need of a more satisfying draught for the human heart.² To the Stoic the Divine Will and the reign of a stern impersonal necessity in Nature were one and the same thing; so that, despite its use of religious phraseology, the whole movement was really an effort to "show what reason can do when it encounters the inevitable."³

The thought of Epictetus, as has been shown, dwells much on what we may call the impersonal assaults of fortune, although the question of the proper reaction toward personal affronts is not neglected. Marcus Aurelius, however, develops this aspect more fully. In his "Meditations," rightly called one of the fairest flowers of pagan thought, he reminds himself that "earthly existence yields but one harvest, holiness of character and altruism of action." Condensing and combining various passages in the "Meditations" and the writings of Epictetus, we obtain the following principles of passive resistance, applying to cases "when thy neighbor sins against thee."

(1) One's first reflection, says Marcus Aurelius, should be: "With what conception of Good and Evil did he commit this sin? When this is clear to thee, astonishment and anger will give place to pity." Or, as Epictetus puts it, "You will meekly bear" with the reviler, for; you will

¹ Higginson, op.cit., p.103.

² Windelband, op.cit.

³ Higginson, op.cit., p.114. In the phrase quoted, Epictetus refers to the individual's purpose, but it is extended by the present writer to characterize the whole Stoic movement.

say upon every occasion, 'It seemed so to him.'"

(2) Next one should reflect, with Epictetus, upon his own human nature and its appropriate expression. "If you are considering yourself a wolf, then *** bite again." But, examining yourself as a man, notice your equipment. "See what faculties you have brought into the world with you. Are they fitted for ferocity; for revenge?"

(3) Passing from bodily equipment to moral constitution: before going to the attack "remember" continues Epictetus, to say first to yourself that you are constituted gentle, and that by doing nothing violent, you will live without the need of repentance, and irreproachable."

(4) Advancing now, with Marcus Aurelius, to more positive principles: "Reflect that kindness is invincible, provided only it be genuine;" then, in utmost goodwill, and carefully avoiding every trace of irony, self-righteousness, or rebuke, meekly admonish the sinner, and "do thy utmost by persuasion" to show him the irrationality of his action and its harmful effects on his own life.

(5) Now, continues Marcus Aurelius, "Should one interpose with main force, take refuge in equanimity and tranquility, and turn this obstacle into an occasion for the exercise of another virtue."

(6) Finally, says Marcus Aurelius, one should solace himself with the following reflections: First, "Thy goal was not the impossible, (but) simply the putting forth of such an effort. And this end thou hast attained." Second, remember always "that indignation is not a form of courage, *** but that meekness and gentleness are more human, *** more manly, and it is he who possesses these that has strength, nerve, and bravery." Third, "the nearer patience is to dispassionateness, by so much is it nearer strength." Pain and anger are "characteristic of weakness;" *** For their victims have both received their wounds and both succumbed."

This Stoic program of non-resistance is probably the most completely detailed formulation to be found anywhere, but it should be noticed that it is applied only to personal reaction toward personal affronts. It is not extended to deny the right of the magistrate and the warring state to the use of violence. Bigg says of Marcus Aurelius that "So absolute is his notion of tolerance that he will not allow a place even for indignation."¹*** and it is not easy to see how he would justify even legal punishment."² This may seem paradoxical when we remember that these benignant thoughts were penned by a Roman Emperor, in his tent at the front with the legions, during the eagerly snatched intervals of a life of activity devoted to the service of the most gigantic organization of coercion known to history, the Roman Empire. Yet Bigg probably represents the true position of the real Marcus Aurelius on the matter of public coercion, for he was certainly a tragic figure, whose worldly greatness and authority was all thrust upon him. The bitter self-contradictions of his career must be left for notice in a later chapter.

Jesus of Nazareth

The story of Jesus of Nazareth affords, beyond comparison, a demonstration of the conquering power, in the long run, of passive resistance. It is not the purpose to discuss his teachings or his example at this stage. Inasmuch as Christianity was a sect during its early centuries, and became a world religion simultaneously with its abandonment

¹ Bigg's statement is not strong enough. Even surprise is deprecated. Marcus Aurelius says that "for a man to exhibit surprise if the universe produce some result, which its nature is to produce, is a piece of folly no less disgraceful than to be lost in amazement at the perversity of the fig-tree in bearing figs." Jackson, op.cit., p.145.

² Op.cit., p.44.

of passive resistant principles, its exposition will be reserved for the next chapter. The discussion must then deal with the continued existence of Jesus as an Ideal, or Spiritual Presence, dominating all the succeeding centuries. There is no more unquestionable or significant fact in the history of humanity. At this stage, however, we must consider Him as the human founder of a historical religion, thus pursuing the logical order demanded by the present sketch.

The three Stoics just considered have already carried us over into the beginning of the Christian era. Seneca was born about four years before Jesus, and died in the year 65 A.D. The hard fate of the slave philosopher, Epictetus, has left the dates of both his birth and death undetermined, but he is supposed to have lived between the years 60 and 120 A.D. Marcus Aurelius was born 121 A.D., and died in 180 A.D. Thus the three together span, almost without overlapping, the first two Christian centuries. In their writings, the pagan philosophy utters its last and noblest word, for the purposes of this study at least. There is no evidence that the teachings of the three Romans were especially influenced by their contemporaries, Jesus and his early disciples. On the other hand, it is impossible to account for the teachings of Jesus by seeking their roots in contemporary or earlier thought, except in so far as it may be said to represent the culmination of Judaism. There is a striking resemblance to Buddhism as regards returning good for evil, but the exceedingly slight structure of evidence reared by those who would trace the doctrines of Jesus to a Palestinian Buddhism, has been destroyed by Aiken in a scholarly dissertation.¹ In that study he shows that the few parallels that actually exist "have their fit-

¹"The Dhamma of Gotama the Buddha and the Gospel of Jesus Christ. A Critical Inquiry into the Alleged Relations of Buddhism with Primitive Christianity," by Charles Francis Aiken, cf. p. 267.

ting explanation in the principle that the human mind, working in similar circumstances, will give birth to similar thoughts."¹

Turning to the religious history of his own people, some very interesting considerations arise concerning the indigenous nature of Jesus' teachings on non-resistance. To be sure the idea of passive suffering, as a means of moral and social reconstruction, is as clear as crystal in the writings of the Hebrew prophets, especially Isaiah:² "He was oppressed, yet when he was afflicted he opened not his mouth; As a lamb that is led to the slaughter, and as a sheep that before its shearers is dumb, so he opened not his mouth."³

Leopold says that "the founders of ancient Hindu religions who preceded Gautama owed their prestige to their record of suffering, patience, and solitude, just as Gautama himself won over his first disciples by the same means, as well as that irresistible spell, 'the bell which is hung in heaven.'"⁴ But the humility, meekness, and sufferings of Jesus did not produce any such effect upon the mind of the Jewish people. So far as their attitude is concerned the prophecy was literally fulfilled: "He was despised, and rejected of men.***And we esteemed him not."⁵ The commonly accepted explanation of this well-known fact is that there existed in the social mind of the Jewish people a conception of the Messiah and his mission which was utterly violated by the career of Jesus. This is doubtless the true explanation, but it is very significant for the purposes of the present study to observe that

¹ This is a case of Tylor's "ethnographic parallels," as explained in Ward's "Pure Sociology," pp. 53-54.

² Critical considerations concerning the exact authorship of Biblical passages or Buddhist texts have slight significance for social psychology. The existence of the writings in the literature of the race or the period is the essential fact.

³ Isa., ch. 53,

⁴ "Prestige; a Psychological Study of Social Estimates," by Lewis Leopold; p. 264.

that Jewish ideal pictured a conquering military hero, while they saw in Jesus only a smitten and despised non-resistant. It is not desired to exaggerate this aspect, but it certainly is important for racial and social psychology.

The situation is really anomalous. Jesus was a son of their own race, fulfilling the description of an ideal, non-resisting, vicariously suffering, national leader — an ideal which had been set forth in the nation's most distinctive literature — yet "as one from whom men hide their face he was despised."¹ The question arises: Was the Hebrew temperament especially incompatible with non-resistance, and had it never really responded to the ideal of "the suffering servant of Jehovah?"¹

We know that throughout their entire history the ancient Hebrews were never lacking in war-like qualities, and that the later Jews put up more than one desperate resistance against overwhelming odds. The idea of passive suffering was limited to a few prophets, and in their system it figured as a divine rather than a human attribute.

At the time of Jesus there existed an ascetic communistic sect, the Essenes, who seem indeed to have held some non-resistant principles.² But they were very few in number and their peace principles seem to have been simply that non-resistant, passive attitude that usually accompanies religious communism.² When contrasted with the revolutionary activities of the warlike Zealots, the Pharisees also appear to play the role of genuine passive resistants. That is to say, as Professor Shaler Mathews has shown,³ the Pharisees were economically comfortable and socially honored, so that they reacted against the Roman domination with non-physical means, contenting themselves with writing eschatological and apocalyptic Utopias. The less comfortable and less articu-

¹ Isa., ch. 53.

² See the history of such sects in Hinds: "American Communistic Communities." For Essenes see "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics;" Hastings.

³ "The Messianic Hope in the New Testament." See especially ch. III.

late masses took to the sword in the hope of more quickly ushering in Messiah's reign; and perished with the sword. But this policy of the Pharisees, as the Jewish literary class, can hardly be called passive resistance. It was simply acquiescence, proceeding from selfish consideration, and not from any true peace principle. Some may conclude that the Jewish race had not, up to the time of Jesus, developed any affinity for a non-resistant philosophy, and they do not seem to have shown the slightest trace of it during all their subsequent history of cruel oppression. No other race in modern times has had so much occasion¹ to enunciate a doctrine that condemns coercion and violence, in themselves, and none has shown less inclination to do so.

¹ Some writers assume that non-resistance is a doctrine of political oppression and despair. On this theory it should be especially characteristic of the Jews. According to Professor Duff, ("The Theology and Ethics of the Hebrews"), the prophecy of Isaiah quoted above was written by one who was a captive slave in Babylon. The title of his Chapter V, "The Four Songs of the Suffering Slave," suggests that the assumed connection between passive resistance and political despair may hold in this case.

CHAPTER III

THE HISTORY OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE: THE CHRISTIAN TRADITION.

It is a remarkable fact that a division of the history of passive resistance into the teachings of individual thinkers, on the one hand, and the "testimony" of organized groups on the other, should fall so exactly at the beginning of the Christian era. Nevertheless, this seems to be really a division in the historical movement itself and not a mere logical classification made for purposes of study. The change is made through the embodiment of the spirit of Jesus in the organization known as the Christian Church.

It has been shown, in the preceding chapter, that it is impossible to find the roots of Jesus' teaching on passive resistance either in the Hindoo philosophy or the consciousness of his own race. His career seems to be as completely detached from the history of preceding thought as it is unique and dominant in subsequent religious experience. On the other hand, his living presence in the thought and devotion of succeeding generations is a tremendous and undisputable fact. While legal religion was engaged in endless theological disputes over the dogma of the "real presence" of Christ in the eucharist, "social religion,"¹ usually in the person of the despised and persecuted sectaries whom we are to study, was tremendously concerned in extending the real spiritual presence of Christ in the hearts of men and the life of the world. It is surely not a mere accident that those who have most valued a vital experience of moral power and regeneration of life, through faith in Jesus, apart from forms and ceremonies, should have been precisely the ones who have clung to passive resistance as the

1 Cf. Ross: "Social Control," chapters XII. and XVI.

very touchstone of a Christian citizenship.

Millions of Christians outside these small sects, and composing the vast majority of believers, however how much they may disagree as to passive resistance or any other pacific doctrine concerning Jesus of Nazareth, "are yet at one in seeking in him and his appearance the centre of the world's history."¹ But as a matter of fact there is no disagreement among Christians on the proposition that personal retaliation is incompatible with the ideal character and true discipleship. But in this they are also in agreement with L  o Tse, Gautama, and the Roman Stoics. This obligation to return good for evil, in so far as the evil suffered does not involve life or limb, seems to be an essential element in ethical religions. In regard to the matter of self-defense there would be a less unanimous agreement than in the condemnation of retaliation.

But from this point onward we shall find that the doctrine has widened. Passive resistance, since the time of Christ, means also condemnation of group retaliation, of war; and sometimes even the coercive measures of government in punishment of crime are called in question. Moreover, organized groups of believers arise, bringing the weight of their combined testimony to bear against the institutions of organized violence. Yet passive resistance in this more comprehensive modern meaning has been constantly connected with the Christian tradition and ideal from the earliest days of the church, and wins an ever widening acceptance as humanitarian feeling and social reasoning have developed. It is therefore necessary to examine the teaching of Jesus on these points.

It has been seen that the net result of the non-Christian teaching on passive resistance amounted simply to the personal applications

¹ Windelband, "History of Philosophy," p. 256.

of the doctrine as treated by isolated teachers and philosophers. When confronted with the social problems that logically grow out of it, they uniformly refused to extend the application of the principle.

The question now becomes, What did Jesus teach, by precept or example, on personal retaliation, magistracy, and war? Briefly put, the answer is that his doctrine is quite full and very explicit on personal revenge and forgiveness, uncertain as to the State, and not given on the subject of War. An extensive array of quotations is not required in order to show that Jesus forbade a vindictive and retaliatory spirit, or that he inculcated a living attitude that forgives "seventy times seven," and returns "good for evil." The transforming power of the spirit of "peace on earth, goodwill toward men," which heralded the advent of Christ, in the Gospel accounts, and which breathes in his dying words on the cross, was never more beautifully set forth than in the words of Julia Ward Howe.

"In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea,
With a glory in his bosom that transfigures you and me."

Yet those lines were penned as part of a "Battle Hymn," and were sung by hosts of men marching to the terrible shock of a fratricidal war. Moreover, the moral agitation which precipitated that war was led by two fearless champions who stood squarely and explicitly upon the principle of passive resistance, -- John Greenleaf Whittier and William Lloyd Garrison. This slight digression may be permitted here as a foretaste of the difficult problems that beset every turn of the subject now before us.

The important consideration just here is to notice that this transfiguring power dwelt in the bosom of Jesus -- that is to say, it was the essential and characteristic emanation and atmosphere of his life. One might spend his days collecting texts and tracing out the story of the followers of Christ down to the present hour, and yet miss

the great central truth of the history of passive resistance. That central fact is the personality of Jesus. If one were to overlook Jesus of Nazareth as the one supreme exemplar of the victorious power of passive resistance, his case would be precisely analogous to that of the early students of nature, who had great difficulty in detecting the atmosphere simply because of its universal presence and its equal and never failing pressure. Such is the spiritual atmosphere and moral pressure exerted by Jesus Christ in the Western world.

The question of participation in government hardly existed in Jesus' day. It was simply a question of submission. The Roman government stands in the background of the Gospel narrative as a given fact in a world which is distorted on its institutional side by reason of the sinful selfishness of individual lives. Jesus devoted himself to opening up in the personal experience of men streams of motive which, it was assumed, would reform social institutions by regenerating the individual life. He neither condemned nor endorsed the State as an institution. But in saying, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's," he recognized a certain claim on the part of the actually existing government. This claim expediency taught him to recognize so long as it did not encroach on the domain of conscience; but the claims of God are supreme. There is also the saying, addressed to Pilate, "Thou couldst have no power except it were given thee from above." Professor Mathews¹ quotes these two passages, and then pointedly remarks that "any man who attempts to erect a theory of politics upon two such statements will need considerable imagination, and deserves small credence."

But we may not consider that this sums up all the teaching of Christianity concerning the State. The doctrines of the Apostle Paul

¹ "The Messianic Hope in the New Testament," p. 311.

formed from the very beginning an integral part of the Christian message, and he is more full and explicit on this point. To him is due the theory that the civil power is ordained of God; that the magistrate bears the sword by Divine commission, and that he punishes evil-doers as the representative of God. Christians are to be obedient to rulers and to support them with their prayers. The influence of these doctrines on subsequent history will appear in connection with the various sects. Particularly important in this connection is the teaching of the apostle against the use of civil courts by Christians, who were instructed to adjust their own disputes. Professor Mathews concludes that Paul's attitude was "not *** that of cooperation with the state, but that of submission to its requirements. In fact, he does not, apparently, think that the state is a matter in which the Christian has any particular share."¹ The clue to the apostle's teaching, as the same author² has pointed out with great fullness in the work quoted, lies in the belief of Paul and the early disciples that the present world lay in irremediable wickedness, and that Christians are to abide in it as mere sojourners who expect the immediate coming of Christ and the end of all temporal affairs. From that day to this there have never been lacking whole communities of men and women who held and practiced that view of life.

On the subject of war, neither Jesus nor any of his disciples has left direct testimony. Yet the feeling that warfare is incompatible with Christianity is so nearly universal as to amount almost to a world-view. Even those who practice and defend such things seem to re-

¹ Ibid., p. 313.

² See also "The Ethical Approach to the Social Question," and "Jesus Christ and the Social Question," by Francis G. Peabody.

alize, more or less, the incongruity in the union of the cross and the sword. A following chapter will have to deal with this contradiction in the consciences of men. For the present let it suffice to say that by no means do all who acknowledge the incompatibility of warfare and Christian discipleship repudiate thereby either the one or the other in theory. But any specific teaching against war was scarcely necessary on the part of Jesus. Such a thing is inconceivable in a world where men should love their neighbors as themselves, and pray for those who spitefully use them. However this last statement, when universalized, itself involves an impossible situation; for the universal reign of neighbor love would leave no room for spiteful conduct. The two are mutually exclusive.

The truth of the matter is that Jesus and the writers of the New Testament left, not a doctrine to circumscribe, but an ideal to leaven, the moral and social life of mankind. This may be seen in the case of slavery, and democracy, as well as of war. The apostle Paul exhorted Christian disciples to abide content and obedient in the status of slavery, and he returned the slave Onesimus to his master with a letter which remains to us today. Yet, in that very letter he dealt a death-blow to human slavery when he said that, inasmuch as the runaway had been converted to Christ, the master, who was also a Christian, "should have him for ever; no longer as a servant, but more than a servant, a brother beloved." The two things were not compatible, and the conscience of humanity finally wiped out the contradiction. So the Southern apologists were entirely correct in their defense of slavery by the letter of Scripture, while Whittier was still more right when he condemned their exegetical efforts as a wresting of the holy writings.¹

¹ See Whittier's poems entitled "Clerical Oppressors," and "The Hunted Fugitive."

In the same way the letter of the Scriptures sustains autocratic government and inculcates passive submission to tyranny. Yet the spirit of Christianity embodied in the same writings, and eluding the mere text-collector, lies at the very heart of the demand for genuine democracy.¹ The same may be said of the movement for the larger emancipation of woman. A reactionary might easily marshal against it an array of scripture passages, but the simple truth that a Christian view of life means a simple human level for both sexes would remain unshaken. Finally, the case of war is precisely the same. The functionaries of institutional religion are never lacking to consecrate and sanctify, though hardly with New Testament words, the arms of those who fight in any cause, while silently the leaven of the faith they profess is rendering warfare unendurable to enlightened men. Many learned writers and speakers are advocating the extension of the peace-group by some form of international union, so that the peace which has excluded strife in turn from the family, the clan, the tribe, and the nation may come to embrace an international peace-group and finally the world. The plan is laudable in purpose, and is based on experience and sound social theory. It is mentioned here in order to say that it was long ago anticipated by the Christian principle of universal good-will, by which all the nations of men were grouped into one ideal brotherhood two thousand years ago. We may truly say that no man and no nation ever went to war as a Christian man or a Christian nation. In theory at least, all warfare by professing Christians involves a moral vacation.

Regardless of its historical explanation, one fact stands out with unmistakable clearness, namely, that the early Christian Church was the first peace society and the first genuine organized expression of

¹ For a splendid exposition of the revolutionary character of Christianity, see Perry, "The Moral Economy," chapter IV.

passive resistance in history. Perhaps it would be more accurate to call it non-resistance rather than passive resistance. As defined in this essay,¹ non-resistance is essentially an attitude of passive suffering, while passive resistance is an active, and even aggressive, movement, which is distinguished chiefly by the fact that it rejects the use of physical force and coercion in human affairs, and strives by all other means to overcome evil with good.

The church of the first three centuries was too thoroughly estranged from all political and social participation to permit the early Christians to be classed as passive resisters. But the earliest glimpse we may obtain of its history reveals the fact that the Christian ideal had already become that of victory through passive suffering, and non-resistance had already become the distinctive social policy of Christianity. This is not strange when one reads in the New Testament writings, which formed their daily thoughts, that "the friendship of the world is enmity against God," therefore "think it not strange concerning the fiery trial among you, *** as though a strange thing happened unto you, but inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings, rejoice." Yet "the Lord's servant must not strive, but be gentle towards all," bearing in mind "to be in subjection to rulers, to authorities, to be obedient *** showing all meekness toward all men."²

When we couple with this meek and defenseless attitude the further position of absolute refusal to participate in even the superficial formalities of the pagan public ceremonial, it is plain that the early Christians were inevitably marked for persecution and slaughter. Their unbending loyalty to Christ, and to him alone, was sure to bring them into conflict with the Roman populace, if not the Roman government.

It is well known that the Roman pantheon was very hospitable, and

¹ Page 5.

² Jas. 4:4; IPet. 4:12, 13; IITim. 2:24; Titus 3:1, 2.

admitted freely the gods of all the peoples included under the sway of the Empire. But the Christians, like the Jews who had preceded them in the conflict for pure monotheism, could entertain nothing but absolute abhorrence for all strange gods and their worship. Their refusal to honor the local divinities aroused the wrath of the populace, especially in the "fanatical East,"¹ while their failure to pay divine honors to the Emperor often placed them before the government in the light of unpatriotic secessionists.² Mommsen points out that "the religion of the Roman commonwealth was, like the religions of antiquity on the whole, essentially national and in fact nothing more than the reflection of the national feeling," and similar to the religiousness met in certain forms of "Patriotism" today. "Accordingly, the order of Roman society demanded from the Roman citizen Roman faith and the corresponding conduct."³ But religion was now on the decline in the Roman world, and the government was inclined to be lenient had not the marvellously aggressive missionary spirit of Christianity forced the authorities to make a stand. The high-treason of the Christians was two-fold in the eye of Roman law, viz., the refusal of the honors due to the gods and the offense toward the Emperor. Of the two offenses, the latter was the heavier. It was an affront to the majesty of the Roman people, and partly the ground of the popular hatred and baiting of Christians. When confessed in court, it became the legal road to martyrdom. "Under all circumstances, however, the coercion of the magistrates was directed essentially against the apostacy from national faith,"⁴ and applied especially to those possessing Roman citizenship.

¹ Hardy: "Christianity and the Roman Government," p. 121, n. 1.

² See Mommsen, "Der Religionsfrevel nach römischem Recht;" in "Historische Zeitschrift," Vol. 64.

³ Ibid., p. 390.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 396-397.

But despite this legal situation, the Christians were not sought out by the government. On the contrary the emperors, when appealed to, tried rather to check the popular clamour, and rioting against Christians was forbidden. In fact, the disorders stirred up by the persecuting activities of the populace were more displeasing to the authorities than the obstinate conduct of a few despised sectarians, who might otherwise have been quietly ignored.¹

Seeking more fully the roots of this bitter animosity on the part of the masses, the following motives appear. First, the Christians denied the local as well as the imperial religion; Second, they were unsparing critics of many social practices; Third, they were accused of disturbing trade;² and, Fourth, they were believed to practice immoral abominations as a part of their secret ritual. This last delusion "got hold on the popular mind with all the terrible vehemence of aversion that resists all argument and heeds not refutation."³ In the records of the early Christian persecutions, collected and edited by Professor Munro,⁴ this fury of the mob, and also its source, are clearly revealed. Concerning the martyrdom of Pothinus, it is recorded that "all thought that they would sin extremely and be guilty of great impiety if any insult to him was omitted, for they thought thus to avenge their own gods." And further on in the same account we read that "the multitude was furious against them" because "they had remained firm and had despised the idols."⁵

In his "De Corona,"⁶ Tertullian has preserved in vivid form several aspects of the situation. The bounty of the Emperors was being

¹ Hardy, op.cit., pp.137-138; 148-149. ² Ibid. ³ Ibid., p.121, m.1
See also Mommsen, op.cit., p.394.

⁴ In Vol.IV., No.1, "University of Pennsylvania Reprints."

⁵ Ibid., pp.15, 18.

⁶ "The Writings of Tertullian," in Vol.II of the "Ante Nicene Library."
The essay is given in the Table of Contents under the title "The Soldier's Chaplet."

distributed in the camp, and the soldiers, crowned with laurel, were approaching. But one of them, refusing to wear the insignia of idolatry, bore the useless garland in his hand. Tertullian pictures his heroic courage as he is "jeered at, tried, stripped, and led forth to martyrdom," under the execrations of the pagans, and the adverse judgments, possibly, of his fellow-Christians, who may consider him "headstrong and rash, and too eager to die", in thus imperilling the followers of the Christian name over "a mere matter of dress. Tertullian is filled with scorn for these pseudo-Christians, who "are also purposing the refusal of martyrdom" by "flight from city to city."

Although the zealous Father thus deplores the presence in the church of a more prudently cautious element, the typical Christian attitude at that time was that of defenseless sheep in the midst of wolves, and even passed over into "the hunger and the thirst for martyrdom, the ardor to render testimony, the will to imitate the Passion of Christ," which Allard¹ finds not only in the Epistle of St. Ignace to the Romans, but actually expressed in the lives of a multitude of Christians. Among various fanatic sects, this became a "fever impossible to control," so that the Church was forced to warn those who were proposing to offer themselves for martyrdom that the Gospel taught nothing of the kind. This occurred in the Second century, and in the Fourth "the disciplinary canons promulgated by Saint Pierre of Alexandria blame the laity and punish the clergy who offer themselves voluntarily to the judges."² An extreme case is that of a village in Asia "whose inhabitants presented themselves en masse before the tribunal of the proconsul, who, astounded at their number, refused to judge them."³ This in-

¹ "Dix Lecons sur Le Martyre, par Paul Allard," ch IX. "Le temoignage des martyrs. Le valeur de ce temoignage."

² Ibid., pp, 325-326.

³ Tertullian, quoted by Allard, op.cit., p.325.

stance shows that even non-resistance may become a matter of crowd contagion.

It was by such enthusiasm of meekness and suffering that the faith of the persecuted spread, and that Christianity arose, in three centuries, from the status of a detested and outcast sect to that of the favored religion of the Empire. This in itself represents a marvellous triumph of non-resistant principles. So unavoidable is this conclusion that even the apologists of brutal persecution have had to make room for it, although driven in one case at least, to assign it to the category of a special and miraculous intervention. In an anonymous tract published in 1687,¹ the authors seek to accomplish "the rather unnecessary object"² of showing that the French Protestants repudiated the tolerant views of Socinus. The tract shows how the cause of Protestantism had been everywhere advanced by the power of the secular rulers. In other words, true religion and physical force are seen by the authors to be in happy conjunction, but there looms the accusing fact that the Church, in its primitive purity, won its battles only by meek and patient suffering. In the following heroic feat of reasoning the chasm is neatly bridged to the satisfaction of the flexible-minded tractarians. "In truth, one must indeed have temerity in order to condemn the ways (i.e. the persecutions by the civil power) by which Providence has been constantly served in establishing the true religion; except the first establishment of Christianity, and its preservation, in which God has willed that there should be a sensible miracle; that is why he did not will that authority should be mixed up in it; except, I say, that place in the history of the Church, one sees constantly every-

¹ *Droits des deux Souverains en Matiere de Religion, la Conscience et l'Experience*, "quoted by Lecky in "History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe," Vol II., p. 52, Note I.

² *Ibid.*, p. 52.

where that God has caused authority to enter, in order to establish the true religion and in order to ruin the false." We have anticipated, in the above, the later history in order to show how striking is this non-resistant career of the early Christian church — a fact so mountainous and immovable that even those who would fain forget it may not do so, but must have recourse to such dubious reasoning.

The next thing to be noted is that when the Church won the favor of the world she abandoned simultaneously her non-resistant principles. Not only did the persecuted become the persecutor, but she who had testified, by a long line of martyrs, against war now girded on the sword herself. But the apostacy from the doctrine of peace was never universal. The tradition arose along with the Christian faith itself, and its light has never wholly waned.

In view of the almost total absence of any specific teaching on war in the New Testament writings, it is interesting to note how clear and how absolutely identified with Christianity itself is the peace testimony made in the very earliest days of the church. In the essay by Tertullian quoted above, the author makes a digression, from the subject of the heathen chaplet and related questions, to inquire "whether warfare is proper at all for Christians." This digression, he thinks, deals with the really "primary question." His conclusion is that no Christian may enter military service, and "when faith comes later, and finds any preoccupied with military service, *** there must be either an immediate abandonment of it, which has been the course with many; or all sorts of quibbling will have to be resorted to in order to avoid offending God."¹ In his quaint argument, which is put simply in the form of a question, we see two tendencies which are of the utmost significance in all the later history of passive resistance; viz., the di-

¹"De Corona," Section XI.

rect appeal to Jesus of Nazareth as the answer to all arguments in favor of war, and the tendency to extend the Christian prohibition to the acts of the magistrate and officers of the law: "Shall it be held lawful to make an occupation of the sword, when the Lord proclaims that he who uses the sword shall perish by the sword? And shall the son of peace take part in battle when it does not become him even to sue at law? And shall he apply the chain, and the prison, and the torture, and the punishment, who is not even the avenger of his own wrongs?"

Tertullian by no means stood alone in his condemnation of war and violence. A long line of eloquent writers,¹ beginning with Justin Martyr, (about 114 A.D.), declared the absolute incompatibility of the Christian spirit with retaliation, either public or private. Cyprian, made Bishop of Carthage, in about 248 A.D., boldly refers to war as murder "committed wholesale."² While Lactantius, in the third century also, goes farther and declares it un-Christian "to accuse any one of a capital charge, because it makes no difference whether you put a man to death by word, or rather by the sword, since it is the act of putting to death itself which is prohibited."³

The principles thus set forth by the leaders of the church⁴ they sealed with their own martyr's death; and the records indicate unnumbered instances where nameless men and women refused to avenge their wrongs even by appeal to the law,^{or} as soldiers, threw down their arms and suffered death rather than slay their fellow-men, saying simply and finally, "I am a Christian, and therefore I cannot fight."⁵

¹ See "The Primitive Christians' Estimate of War and Self-Defense," by Josiah W. Leeds. 1876.
² Ibid., p. 15. ³ Ibid., p. 53.
⁴ Leeds gives the testimony of Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Cyprian, Tertullian, Arnobius, Lactantius, Ignatius of Antioch, and the unknown writer of the Epistle to Diognetus.
⁵ See "An Inquiry Into the Accordancy of War with the Principles of Christianity," by Jonathan Dymond. Phila. 1835.

With the Fifth century, and the temporal triumph of the Church, we enter a period of about a thousand years, during which the Christian policy of meekness and non-resistance was almost, though not totally, forgotten. The tradition was kept alive partly by the monastic orders and partly by the numerous heretical sects, during all the centuries of feudal and ecclesiastical violence. Wherever the ideal of the apostolic life revived, there non-resistance was preached and practised. Perhaps it would not be far from the truth to say that in proportion as intimate familiarity with the New Testament writings declined, so the testimony against personal retaliation, persecution, and war became neglected. The slender stream we are now to trace will suddenly widen into a flood, and separate into many lusty branches at the Reformation, — precisely the time when the long-standing priestly monopoly of the Bible was broken and the knowledge and interpretation of the Scriptures became the privilege of the common people.

In the meantime the tradition and ideal of the simple apostolic life, in so far as it was not confined to the cloisters, was cherished by a succession of heretics. They were not consciously intent upon the enunciation of any doctrine of non-resistance, but were led into it through the unconscious logic by which the mind seeks mental and moral self-consistency. In their attempt to reproduce the apostolic life, they naturally found themselves out of tune with violence, both personal and organized. It is the purpose now to mention in the barest way a few of the obscure heretics who helped to form the true apostolic succession of passive resistance.

The Albigenses, or Cathari, were, as the latter term indicates, the original Puritans, aiming at a re-calling of the Church to the pure simplicity of apostolic days. They are not so admirable as this characterization might imply, being revoltingly ascetic, and accused of immoral

practices. A pronounced dualistic heresy attributed to them by the Church, is consistent with their semi-Oriental origin. They are supposed to have been strongly influenced by the Paulicians, or Manichees, who originated in the Seventh century on the upper Euphrates, in Armenia. The dualism of the Paulicians, in turn, might possibly be traced to the ancient Parsee religion of Persia. The Paulicians were not non-resistants, but quite the contrary. To the number of five thousand, they put up a terrible resistance to the Byzantine Empire, and succeeded in forming a sort of outlaw community near Tephrica, from whence they made forays into the Empire.¹ Later they were placed on the Bulgarian frontier, and finally scattered. Their doctrines made their way through the Balkan countries and Italy, into Northern, and later Southern, France.² Here the theological tenets of the Paulicians persisted in the heresy known as Manicheism, but their martial spirit was replaced by a modified doctrine of non-resistance. Being extreme ascetics, they had a natural affinity for non-resistant doctrine of the extreme negative type. Indeed, among their highest order, called "The Perfect," Catharism flatly repudiated the natural human instincts and, along with the Buddhist and the Stoic, even courted death by voluntary starvation.³ The members of this highest order "are not allowed," says Alzog,⁴ "to kill any beast, reject the oath, and, for true believers, secular government and jurisdiction have no validity, as again they must not resist violence but only suffer it. Their detestation is directed in the fullest measure upon the entire condition of the Catholic Church, which per-

¹ See the "History of the Christian Church in the Middle Ages," by Dr. Wilhelm Moeller. pp. 27-29.

² See the essay by A. Luchaire on "Southern France and the Religious Opposition," in "Medieval Civilization," by Munro and Sellery.

³ Ibid..

⁴ "Manual of Universal Church History," by the Rev. Dr. John Alzog. p. 389.

secutes, possesses and enjoys, instead of suffering and renouncing."

The atrocious crusade against these Albigenses was preached in 1208, after they had been long established. Moeller gives, as the year of their origin, 1162. But, if this be correct, they were preceded by other non-resistants, who spread strange doctrines in the dioceses of Liege and Arras as early as 1022, teaching, among other things, that "men must leave the world, *** injure no one, and practise love toward the brethren."¹ Near Cologne, in 1146, Moeller finds another sect, Christ's Poor, "who live apostolically without possessions, and desire not to rule but to suffer."¹ Both these are non-resistant sects, and, as will be observed, they were earlier than the Albigenses. They, along with others that could be traced, no doubt, were obscure and feeble movements. Their significance lies in the fact that they represent the occasional upspringings of a hidden, underground stream of social idealism which seeped down through the dark ages of the Church, ready to burst forth in full volume when the confining strata of militant ecclesiasticism should be weakened above it.

So closely connected with the Albigenses as to be confused with them and smitten down along with them by the persecutors, were the Waldenses. They were the followers of Peter Waldo, a one-time rich merchant of Lyons, and were known also as "the Poor Men of Lyons." This is probably the most "respectable" heretical movement of the Middle Ages, free from the disgusting asceticism of their contemporary sectarians, and directing their efforts toward a revival of simple, apostolic piety within the Church, encouraged, along with the Albigenses and others, by the nobility, (who loved to harass the Church as their rival in the contest for worldly power), and received by the populace with great favor

¹ Moeller, op.cit., pp. 383, 386,

and respect. Alzog says that "in moral character they were superior to all other heretical sects;" but, as will appear in a later chapter, there has never been any shortage of testimony to the excellent qualities of most non-resistants. But it is especially true that the teachings and humble daily walk of the "Poor Men of Lyons" touched a popular chord, and during the last thirty years of the twelfth century they spread from Lorraine in Northeastern France to Catalonia in Spain. Later they won adherents in Germany who are supposed to have influenced the Hussites in Bohemia.

Moeller points out that, in the Waldensian movement, the "watchword of return to the apostolic life" passed beyond the confines of the cloister and the monastic orders, and was made "of universal Christian validity." This may be considered as beginning in 1177 or 1178, when Peter Waldo began to preach. The available evidence does not make it perfectly clear that the Waldensian movement should be classed as one of the distinctly non-resistant faith. The very fact that it was so respectable with the authorities and so popular with the masses raises some doubt. The later adherents of the sect offered armed resistance to the authorities of Savoy, in the middle of the Sixteenth century,¹ and therefore cannot be regarded as thorough-going non-resistants. But we may perhaps safely conclude that the early Waldenses represent the true non-resistant tradition, as an essential aspect of their endeavor to revive the apostolic life. They probably influenced the Humiliates of Northern Italy in the second half of the Twelfth century, according to Moeller, and his characterization of the latter we may apply to the Waldenses also: "The precepts of the Sermon on the Mount gave the standard for their conception of a humble and meek life. They

¹ Moeller, "Hist. of the Christian Church A.D. 1517-1648." Reformation and Counter Reformation," pp. 429-430.

rejected the oath, taught the love of enemies, renunciation of revenge, and contentment."¹

Many of these smaller sects arose and were dissipated under slight momentum; the Albigenses, though much more powerful, were practically exterminated in two cruel crusades; while even the Waldenses fell into disfavor, endured persecution, resisted the civil power, and finally succeeded in maintaining themselves to the present day in the mountains of Dauphine and the Piedmontese Alps.²

But these, and the various other groups recorded in the long history of heretical sects, may be regarded as part of a larger movement. Hartson,³ has shown how the voluntary associations of the Middle Ages contributed to that remarkable transformation of feudal society, with its serfs and intellectual darkness, into our modern society of democratically organized freemen and scientific enlightenment. The work of the guilds is well known, but the article mentioned shows not only the astonishing range of their activity but their intimate connection with the intellectual and religious life of the times. All of them were necessarily conducted under the auspices of religion, but their special purpose might be economic, scholastic, or religious. The point of especial importance for this sketch is that the learned and religious organizations were so closely identified that "Conradi includes the Bohemian Brethren and the Waldensians in his list of learned societies." Hartson truly avers that the Reformation was not due solely to the work of a few great individual leaders, "but to voluntary organizations like the Bohemian Brethren and the Anabaptists."⁴

These numberless little groups of humble men and women of the

¹ Ibid., p. 392.

² Alzog, op. cit., p. 661.

³ "A Study of Voluntary Associations, Educational and Social, in Europe during the Period from 1100 to 1700," by L. D. Hartson. In "The Pedagogical Seminary," Vol. 18 (1911), pp. 10-29.

⁴ Ibid., p. 29.

Middle Ages prepared the soil of Europe for the great sowing, which we have now almost reached. A close student of this field has pointed out that the Anabaptists "present every appearance of having evolved from the social and religious groups which we know existed throughout Europe before them, and that, too, in the very centers where Anabaptism later flourished at its best"¹ Long before Anabaptism was heard of, those evangelical preachers variously styled "Reformers before the Reformation," "Spiritual Reformers," etc., were "gradually leavening Central Europe with the truths of the gospel, and preparing the way for the great spiritual revolution to come."² They were non-resistants almost to a man, but before taking up the broad movement which, under the vague term Anabaptism, represents the organized aspect of the tendency they inaugurated, we must notice a series of events which bridge the earlier and the later history of passive resistance.

¹ "Studies in Mystical Religion," by Rufus M. Jones, p. 370.

² "Bathaser Hübmaier," by Henry C. Vedder, p. 13.

CHAPTER IV

THE HISTORY OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE: THE MODERN PEACE SECTS.

1

The Unitas Fratrum.

With John Hus and the Bohemian Brethren, or Unitas Fratrum, we may date the beginning of passive resistance in its modern sense. The distinguishing feature of this modernism is its close connection with the State and with the surging forces of social and political revolution. Its modernity lies in its public character. Henceforth we shall see less of the monastic, ascetic, and life-denying tendency so characteristic of the Oriental, Stoic, and Christian anchorite philosophy, and more of an effort to translate negative non-resistance into a positive message of peace, and even of social reconstruction. But it would be very misleading to imply that this transformation was either sudden or complete. A great volume of purely negative passivism continued, and exists even at the present day, but the tide has now turned, and the history of passive resistance will be henceforth inseparable from the history of modern liberty. As will appear, some of the sects to be observed exhibit a vastly wider social outlook and a more positive and aggressive spirit than do others. Yet, with decided exceptions to be noted, non-resistance has become passive resistance; the duty of returning good for evil in the personal dealings of man to man widens into the passion for spreading the kingdom of truth and social justice, by every active and aggressive means short of physical force and violence. Passive resisters as a whole will by no means measure up to this program. It simply represents the highest point attained by the movement. Yet

¹ Known also as the Bohemian Brethren, The Unity of the Brethren, the Unity, etc.

one thing alone is sufficient to differentiate the modern passive resistant from the primitive Christian of apostolic days. The apostles despaired completely of the present world which was rapidly coming to naught; the passive resistant of the Reformation days has some hope that its wickedness is not irremediable, that the end of all things is not immediately at hand, and that even the kingdoms of this world may become the kingdoms of the Lord and of His Christ. This profound sense of the genuine immanence of God in the world will appear as a tremendous conviction in the spiritual reformers.¹ who preceded and accompanied the Reformation, and who are the spiritual ancestors of some of the distinctive peace sects. But as already remarked, we must turn first to the Bohemian Brethren for the transition from the medieval to the modern aspects of this subject.²

John Hus, the Bohemian reformer, and university professor, lighted with the fires of his own martyrdom the earliest conflagrations of the Protestant Revolution. On the theological side, Hus was an enlightened but moderate reformer, who aimed to simplify the overgrown ecclesiasticism and corruption of Rome, and to make the Bible the central thing in the Christian life. The fact that the Roman hierarchy could not tolerate him on the earth, but, after an unfair trial before the great Council of Constance, burned him to death at the stake, is entirely sufficient to attest his character of thorough-going reformer. But we are interested here primarily in three things, viz., his revolutionary polit-

¹ See "Spiritual Reformers in the 16th and 17th Centuries," by Rufus M. Jones.

² Because of the vastness and increasing complexity of the subject, the following accounts can hardly be dignified even with the name of sketches. They are, by force of necessity, mere outlines or comments on the various topics presented. Their purpose is to touch the points which are important for the social psychology of passive resistance, as it is hoped the following chapters will demonstrate. Considerable supplementary history will appear incidentally in the later chapters.

ical teachings, his passive resistant policy, and his influence on the warlike Hussites and the peaceable Bohemian Brethren.

Hus was by intention precisely the opposite of a fomenter of violent revolution, but the conditions in Bohemia were ripe for insurrection and he unwittingly applied the torch. The fatal fire-brand was John Wickliff's doctrine of "Lordship." Wickliff, the great English reformer and Bible scholar, died in 1384, but his writings had been brought to Bohemia by Bohemian students who were returning to their native land from their studies at Oxford, in England. John Hus adopted and promulgated this doctrine, so fruitful of political revolution. Wickliff had declared that "There is no unconditional and eternal heritage of secular dominion, no human title to possession can secure such; only he who stands in grace is the true lord; mortal sin disqualifies the sinner from administering God's fief."¹ Standing firmly on this doctrine, Hus resisted the traditional tyranny of the Roman Church, yet protesting, along with Wickliff himself, that it did not justify violent insurrection. His teaching and his whole life breathed the gentle and forgiving spirit of a true Christian and a consistent passive resistant, but, as will appear, the consequences of his utterances flamed out beyond control.

Condemned, formally degraded from the priesthood, and cruelly reviled, in the presence of the whole ecclesiastical and feudal world in the great Cathedral of Constance, Hus bore himself with an exalted dignity of meekness and love that worthily honored the Master whom he strove to imitate.² His mantle of patient endurance for the sake of truth was to fall upon worthy successors in the persons of the Bohemian Brethren, but they were to emerge only after the terrific upheaval of

¹ Quoted by Moeller, "History of the Christian Church in the Middle Ages," p. 493.

² See the eloquent account in "The History of the Church Known as the Unitas Fratrum," by Edmund De Schweinitz, chapter VIII.

the Hussite wars had subsided.

The burning of Hus (July 6, 1415) was the signal for armed revolt throughout Bohemia against the power of Rome. His countrymen carried home, as a sacred relic, the very earth wherein the stake had stood. Those who had been halting joined his followers. His personal enemies among the clergy were plundered, the Archbishop driven out of Bohemia, and the national Diet replied to the warnings of Rome in defiant threats of reprisal. This ultimatum was signed by four hundred and twenty-five barons and knights, and was followed immediately by the organization of the Hussite League, whose members pledged themselves to open their estates to the free preaching of the Gospel, and to act together in the struggle for truth.¹ The Church had for centuries claimed and exercised the right of employing physical force for the advancement of spiritual truth. The minds of men in that age of authority and spiritual darkness were not able to disenthral themselves from the spell cast upon them by the power of tradition. They needed some sort of intellectual and moral footing for the groping forces of revolt which the wrongs of centuries, in forms economic and political as well as theological, had generated. This theoretical footing Hus had supplied in his exposition of Wickliff's "doctrine of lordship." The papal lord had by mortal sin forfeited God's fief. Allegiance to Rome and loyalty to God were sundered. All Bohemia flew to arms. Establishing themselves at Mount Tabor, the embattled peasantry, under the peerless leadership of Zizka, and inspired by their own fiery preachers, waged a terrible struggle of fifteen years against all the hosts that medieval tyranny could muster.² But they were finally overthrown and dispersed at Zipany in 1434.

¹ Ibid., pp. 79-80.

² See the vivid account by MacKinnon in "A History of Modern Liberty," Vol. I., Chapter IX.

Popular violence and privileged violence had beaten one another down into a temporary equilibrium, and the blackened land turned to recover itself from the physical and moral¹ devastation of the long conflict. But the teachings of the Taborites spread even into England and Spain, and "though the propaganda of these missionary fugitives was directed against the Church rather than against society, the doctrine of the nullity of all law and all rights that militated against the law of God still formed part of their teaching."²

While the Hussite insurrection is the most immediate and striking effect of the martyrdom of John Hus, it is not the most genuine and enduring. Scholars like Moeller and DeSchweinitz agree in declaring that the true fruit of his testimony is to be found in the Church of the Unitas Fratrum, or Bohemian Brethren. Moeller says that after the destruction of Tabor "the scattered remnants of the Taborites combined into a religiously purified community, which renounced forcible means."³ DeSchweinitz is even more explicit in his characterization of Hus as the true prophet of passive resistance, and of the Brethren as his legitimate successors. "The reformation which he began, they, and not the Hussites, developed to its legitimate end. The martyr spirit which he manifested, they upheld. His weapons were theirs -- not carnal, but the two-edged sword of the Word and the whole armor of God."⁴ DeSchweinitz further shows that the now ancient church of the Unity would never have arisen if Hus had not spread abroad his foundation principles. "What he taught, the Brethren reproduced in their confessions and catechisms."⁵

For a time the influence of passive resistant doctrine seemed lost, but it was simply obscured and delayed by the ecclesiastical pol-

¹ DeSchweinitz, op.cit., p. 93.
² Op.cit., p. 549.

³ Mackinnon, op.cit., p. 168.

⁴ Op.cit., p. 78

⁵ Ibid., p. 102.

itics of the time. The Hussites split into several parties, one of which, the Utraquists, became, under John of Rokycana, the national Bohemian church, whose leader first negotiated with and later contended against the church of Rome. Out of this Bohemian national church, under the leadership of Hus, Rokycana, and Peter of Chelcic, arose that ancient church of peace, the *Unitas Fratrum*.¹

The work of Hus and Rokycana has been mentioned. Peter of Chelcic, or as he is sometimes called, Peter Chelcicky, first appears in the Bethlehem Chapel at Prague, disputing publicly with Jacobellus of Mies "on the unfitness of appealing to arms in matters of religion," says De Schweinitz. This introduction seems auspicious to the student of passive resistance. De Schweinitz goes on to characterize this new apostle of peace in a strongly drawn portrait which may well be inserted here. "Nothing excites the indignation and horror of Chelcicky so much as war. It is inadmissible; a warrior is a murderer; to shed human blood even in the way of self-defence or of capital punishment constitutes an abominable sin. His literal interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount leads him, moreover, to forbid his followers to appeal to the secular arm, to take an oath, or to fill a civil office. They must humbly and patiently bear injustice, never avenge themselves, neither murmur nor be profane, but imitate Christ who was brought as a lamb to the slaughter and opened not his mouth."² Here we have a thoroughly modern statement of passive resistance. Like that of earlier centuries it is rooted in the Christian obligation to return good for evil. But it goes beyond the personal relations of private life. Chelcicky boldly faces the whole complex problem. The follower of the Son of Peace is not to have part or lot in any group retaliation -- neither to execute criminals nor to wage war, and hence he must keep his hands

¹ Ibid., p. 102

² Ibid., p. 98.

clear of all the civil and political machinery by means of which those things are done. So uncompromising is his position that it really passes into non-resistance, since along with the renunciation of civil agencies there goes a large field of forfeited moral and social influence which is the special province of the true passive, i.e. non-violent, resistant. But Chelcicky needed no political theorist to show him the inseparable union subsisting always between political power and brute force. The terrible experiences of recent years in Bohemia had demonstrated it before his eyes, and he was determined to wash his hands of the whole program of violence.

The teachings of Peter of Chelcic struck an answering chord in the hearts of many who had sickened of the cruel mercies of consecrated violence. Under the leadership of "Gregory, the Patriarch," a nephew and disciple of Rokycana, they found means to draw together, "to save themselves from the 'untoward generation' by which they were surrounded."¹ Hearing of the largely depopulated estate of Lititz in eastern Bohemia, they secured permission to establish there "a retreat, amidst lonely hills and mountains, where they could worship God in fellowship and peace, and a centre around which their associates from the country could gather."¹

Under these romantic circumstances, the Church of the Unity of the Brethren was born in the wilderness. Here they enjoyed a few years of peace, then persecution after persecution from the national church burst upon them. They were strengthened by these fierce harryings, being led to perfect their organization, and even receiving accessions to their membership as the direct result, ^{of their} steadfastness. Among these were several Waldenses from a colony near the boundaries of Austria.

As a direct result of the first persecution, representatives from the various parts of Bohemia gathered among the mountains of Reichenau,

¹ Ibid., pp., 106.

in 1464, and drew up a set of "Statutes," for the guidance of the Brethren. This venerable document, probably the oldest official utterance of all peace sects, does not set forth their views on War, but it has the following to say of magistracy: "Regarding our earthly appointed Rulers, we consider ourselves bound to show them due obedience, to follow their wise counsels, to be subject to them in all humility, to manifest loyalty in all things, and faithfulness towards them, and to pray unto God for them."¹ This is the Pauline doctrine of passive obedience to rulers, which has figured largely in the later history of passive resistance. In a letter, 1643, to their former friend, Primate Rokycana, who had now come to acquiesce in their persecutions, their endorsement of the power of the constabulary is still more explicitly stated. "Civil power," they acknowledge, "is intended for the punishment of those who have broken the laws of society and must be coerced within proper bounds. It arose in the heathen world. It is absolutely wrong to use it in matters of religion."¹ Here is an early enunciation of the principle of separation of Church and State.

Through a history checkered with alternating prosperity and persecution, the Unity of the Brethren continued down to the Protestant Reformation. Its doctrinal teachings won the commendation of the great Reformers, Luther, Bucer, and Calvin. Its history becomes for a time involved in the surging movements of the Revolution. Scattered from Bohemia by war and persecution, it maintained itself in Moravia, and gained a foothold in Prussia and Poland. Its later history merges with that of the Moravian Church, and, through the continuous line thus established, it exists today as the most ancient and venerable of all Protestant churches. But the Moravians were themselves partly a product of the

¹ Ibid., p. 119.

Reformation, and to some passive resistant aspects of that momentous period attention must next be directed.

The Anabaptists,

Those turbulent fanatics and bizarre heretics who are lumped together under the above title were long despised and maligned; and they have, in fact, much to answer for in way of theory and practice. They have been happily dubbed "the waifs of the religious world." But recent researches have revealed them in a better light, and the broad movement vaguely known as Anabaptism is seen to comprise much that was vital in religion, truly socialistic in the broadest sense, and most consonant with modern ideas of liberty of conscience. MacKinnon finds in them the only party among all the sects of the Reformation, Catholic or Protestant, who really believed in the rights of free-conscience.¹ "Let it be remembered to their immortal glory," says he, "that, despite contempt and death, they were the pioneers of at least religious liberty as we understand it." Bax,² has made an able study of the whole movement from the original sources. His point of view is socialistic, and brings out sympathetically the story of Anabaptism as a lower-class, communistic movement. His treatment is perhaps less penetrating on the spiritual side, but the lack has been supplied by Jones, in his profound study of the "Spiritual Reformers in the 16th. and 17th. Centuries," already quoted. In that work he points out that the term "Anabaptism" has been very loosely used to include "all the sixteenth-century exponents of a free, inward religion." Jones himself, however, would apply the term "Anabaptist" only to those who saw in the Gospel a new law to be literally obeyed; held the true church to be the visible company of such literal followers of the apostles, united under the sign of adult baptism; and

¹ MacKinnon, op.cit., vol. III., p. 472. MacKinnon refers particularly to their successors, the English Baptists, but the statement holds for the whole Anabaptist movement.

² In his "Rise and Fall of the Anabaptists."

denied, on Gospel grounds, the right of the magistrates to interfere with religious faith and doctrine. They held the great commandment to be love.¹ He then adopts the term "Spiritual Reformers" for another group of leaders who united in themselves harmoniously "the Mystical tendency, the Humanistic or Rational tendency, and the distinctive Faith tendency of the Reformation."² Among these less literally traditional and more mystical thinkers is found one, Caspar Schwenkfeld, of those who figure in the following sketches. George Fox and the English Quakers were later and hence not included in his list, but they belong spiritually to the same group. It is not feasible to follow out closely this distinction between the mystical and traditional phases of the movement, although it is profoundly true; but some practical consequences of their unlike theology may appear in the different social role played by the various passive resistant sects. For the present, without attempting to differentiate between the mystical and traditional types, the general policy and career of the so-called Anabaptists must be touched upon.

As has been shown above, the germs of the movement for a more free and more personal religion were in the air at the opening of the Sixteenth century, and even before that date. Various writers have traced the actual beginnings of Anabaptism to a group of enthusiasts who came together in Switzerland, at Zurich, in the year 1526. Among them were Balthasar Hübmeier,³ Konrad Grebel, Georg Blaurock, and others less prominent in later history. They rejected not only the Roman Catholic Church but also that of Luther and the other Reformers, with whom, they declared, it was "as though they were mending an old pot in which the hole only grows larger. They have smitten the vessel out of the hand

¹ Op.cit., pp. 17-18.

² Ibid., p. XV.

³ According to Vedder's account, it would appear that Hübmaier was not present, but joined the group a little later.

of the Pope, but left the fragments therein; for a new birth of Life hath one never seen with them,"¹ The men in this group are not to be identified with the peasant revolt of the same year in Thuringia under the "Zwickau prophets," on the one hand, or the "Spiritual Reformers," on the other. All these groups had principles in common, as regards both religion and social reform. But the distinguishing mark of the Anabaptists lies in the title itself, which means "re-baptizers." The Zwickau prophets were intent principally on a reform of the terrible social injustices which were grinding the peasants into the dust; the "spiritual reformers" were occupied especially in proclaiming a very profound and vital inward religion which took no account of baptism or any other outward form or ceremony whatsoever.² The Anabaptists, on the other hand, were distinguished by the fact that they gave to the outward symbol, baptism, the central position. But they made adult baptism the sign and seal of the true Christian faith, declaring that the infant baptism of the Roman Catholic and Protestant State churches could have no spiritual validity because it occurred entirely apart from the choice of the individual, and at a time when the moral responsibility essential to true confession could not be present. So these earnest Germans of Zurich, being denied re-baptism by the Church, baptised one another, and started on the propaganda that contributed so much to shake central and northern Europe to its ecclesiastical, political, and social foundations.

At first the Anabaptist movement was allied with the reformation of Zwingli, but was soon cast out as Zwinglianism grew more pros-

¹ Bax, op.cit., p.3.

² Among these "spirituals," or "spiritual reformers" were Hans Denck, Sebastian Franck, Caspar Schwenkfeld, Jacob Boehme in Germany, Coornhert in Holland, and Smith, Traherne, and others, in England, See Jones: "Spiritual Reformers."

perous and respectable. Anabaptism then threw down the gauntlet to all Protestant Europe, and its history of propagandism and persecution, of intoxicating success and heart-breaking failure, began. In this sketch only one phase of the movement will be followed, viz., the line of the fanatics of Münster and the final differentiation of Anabaptism into the Mennonites and others. In pursuing this course the study will be further narrowed to the vicissitudes of the doctrines of the State and of passive resistance.

Broken up and dispersed from Zurich, the new sectarians spread throughout Southern Germany and into the Netherlands. They became especially numerous in Moravia, and converts from all parts flocked thither. The failure of the Peasant Insurrection of 1625, and the blood-thirsty revenge wreaked by the feudal and ecclesiastical overlords, had made the masses peculiarly receptive toward the teachings of the Anabaptists concerning the civil power, to which attention must now be turned.

The Anabaptists regarded the State as an institution born of the realms of darkness and designed by God as a scourge for true Christians. The Christian had no duties as a citizen except that he should be quietly submissive and endure persecution in expectation of the deliverance of God in the Day of the Lord. It might be said correctly that the Christian is not a citizen but simply a subject of the State.

But Anabaptists did not agree in all their utterances. Some of those who have been counted among them defended the Scriptural legitimacy of the magistracy. Therefore we shall notice first, from a hostile, but apparently reliable witness, a summary of their political doctrines;¹ then a somewhat different view from Balthasar Hubmaier.

¹ Bullinger: "Der Wiedertaufferen Ursprung, Furgang, Secten, Wesen," etc., translated and summarized by Bax, op.cit., pp. 30-32. Bullinger's book appeared in 1531.

In these propositions, says Bax; they maintain that the preachers rely too much on the secular arm; that the attitude of the Christian toward authority should be that of submission and endurance only; that no Christian ought to take office of any kind; that secular authority has no concern with religious belief; that the Christian resists no evil, and therefore needs no law-courts nor should ever make use of the tribunals; that Christians do not kill or punish with imprisonment or the sword, but only with exclusion from the body of believers; that *** Christians do not resist, and hence, do not go to war."

Balthasar Hübmaier, (or Hübmeier), who, as mentioned above, is named by early chroniclers as one of the original Anabaptists, vigorously denies the charge that he was opposed to Christian magistracy. His argument, which is an extraordinarily keen and forceful exposition, is in the form of a letter² addressed to the lords of Moravia, in 1527. The document consists of fifteen "Passages" from Scripture explained, by Hübmaier, as justifying Christian government and its use of force. Having shown that a Christian may judge between his brethren, Hübmaier argues that he may therefore "sit in court and council, and judge and decide about temporal cases." This being true it follows that "he may also be a protector with the hand of him who wins the suit, and punish the unjust. For whose shall judge righteousness ought not to hesitate to execute and fulfill punishment against the malicious. Who soles a shoe, if he dare not put it on? See, dear brothers, that councils, courts, and law are not wrong."

Just because the Christian is always forbidden to complain, "as you have heard in I Cor. VI, 7." the magistrate is all the more command-

¹ Hübmaier was a learned man, for some time a professor at Ingolstadt. He represents the most moderate of the Anabaptists.

² Quoted in the Appendix to Vedder's "Balthasar Hübmaier."

ed "to protect the pious and punish the wicked with the sword." In this righteous duty he may need the assistance of the citizens, and "when he summons his subjects by bell or gun, by letter or any other way, they are bound by their soul's salvation also to stand by their prince and help him, so that according to the will of God the wicked may be slain and uprooted." Here we have the recognition of the "posse comitatus." Hübmaier touches another exceedingly vital point for the modern passive resistant when he concludes as follows: "Here mark you, dear brethren, if government is so unchristian that a Christian may not bear the sword, wherefore do we help and preserve it with our taxes?" This raises a knotty problem that will appear over and over in the subsequent history of this subject.

In the opening of the letter Hübmaier meets the position of those who, in imitation of the words of Jesus to Pilate, would declare that their government is "not of this world." This, he argues, is not true of any merely human government; the Christian must sorrowfully acknowledge it, and act accordingly. Moreover, he argues that Christ, in saying to Peter, "Put up thy sword," was simply rebuking self-constituted authority.

While the form of the argument seems antiquated in modern wars, the substance of this debate of the Anabaptists is decidedly modern. We see that the State had already become a very real and vital thing in the minds of the men of that day. Henceforth passive resistance becomes a political as well as a religious doctrine. Hübmaier died a martyr's death at the stake, and the Anabaptists were driven out of Moravia. Their further history centers about the "New Jerusalem" and the brief reign of the saints, at Münster. In this strange episode we shall see the metamorphosis of non-resistance into a militant crusade and political Utopia, and back again into complete non-resistance and

repudiation of the State.

In the period immediately following the collapse of the Peasants' Insurrection of 1526, non-resistance and political non-participation were characteristic doctrines of Anabaptism. Their prophets went wandering up and down the land gathering great harvests of converts among the peasants, whose recent crushing defeat had, in the opinion of Bax, rendered them peculiarly susceptible to a doctrine of political passivity and complete non-resistance — a teaching to which they would not have listened in the days when prospect of success through insurrection lured them on into the excesses of the Peasants' War. Now they were not only crushed deeper into the dust, but cruelly smitten by their barbarous overlords, spiritual and temporal. Luther himself stood by and urged on the smiters, and it is worthy of notice that his non-resistant views, as will be described in the next chapter, fluctuated in a way precisely similar, but almost exactly in reverse movement, to those of his opponents whom we are about to describe. In other words, the curve of Luther's shifting point of view on non-resistance would represent roughly the reverse of the curve showing the changes in the peasant and Anabaptist policy.

Bax says that "in proportion as, after the great defeat of 1525, despair of attaining their aims by insurrectionary methods gradually settled down on the peasantry and poor handicraftsmen, the Anabaptist doctrine spread like wild-fire, attaching to itself all the elements from the earlier peasant and proletarian movements that had a similar religious coloring."¹ The theory of Bax is that non-resistance is a policy of oppression and political despair, and this hypothesis may color the following account, which is largely based upon his discussion. But the final valuation to be placed upon the theory can appear only

¹ Op.cit., p.27.

in later chapters. Meanwhile it may be said that the theory affords at most no more than a partial explanation. This Bax himself admits when he says, "The doctrine of non-resistance *** was a natural result of the literal interpretation of many passages in the New Testament." And he mentions, as "an important feature of the movement, its strange atmosphere of Bible-reading to the exclusion of all other literature."¹ Thus it appears that, whatever may have affected the progress of the doctrine, its origin, here, as everywhere in modern times, is directly traceable to the Christian ideal and tradition.

The prophets of Anabaptism who went wandering like the early apostles through the land, soon began to proclaim that the Day of the Lord would soon come, to bring deliverance to his oppressed followers, and there was a strong tendency to fix on Strasburg as the site of the New Jerusalem. But unsatisfactory conditions there, along with a gradual change in the doctrine, and certain fortuitous events, were destined to shift the great center of Anabaptist activity to the city of Münster, in Westphalia.

The metamorphosis of the extreme non-resistant teaching into a militant political crusade, then back again into complete non-resistance and "political quietism,"² was begun by Melchior Hoffmann, carried to its zenith by Jan Matthys, and brought to its conclusion by Menno Simons.

Hoffmann joined the movement at Strasburg and was in most points a consistent Anabaptist, but he soon repudiated the doctrine of non-resistance in its absolute form. In its stead he set up a modified theory, in which it was maintained that the Brethren had a right to take up the sword against the godless authorities of the world, who were looked upon as "the enemies of the saints." This tendency to despise the civ-

¹ Ibid., p. 162.

² Bax, op. cit., p. 114.

il power seems to have been characteristic of Anabaptism. Bax says, in another connection, that congregations founded at Liege, Maestricht, and Aachen "had their own judges to decide disputes among members of the body, and contemptuously refused to recognize the authority of 'the godless,' as they termed the temporal power."¹ Now we see Hoffmann going farther, and predicting the utter destruction of "the mystery of iniquity, the existing principalities and powers, and the time was now at hand when this prophecy should be fulfilled."² Hoffmann, however, always taught that the two-edged sword must remain in its sheath until a sign from Heaven should bid it flash forth. With him non-resistance and patient waiting were the present duty of the saints. It was under the influence of this idea of a limited and temporary non-resistance that the Anabaptist movement gained adherents in the regions adjacent to Westphalia. Yet the general character of the Melchiorite communities of the Northwest seems to have been of the same peaceable character as those of the South. The notion of Vengeance "was left very much in abeyance. The carrying of weapons was discouraged, and the returning of good for evil was inculcated. It was ominous, however, that Melchior Hoffmann was acclaimed as the prophet Elijah returned according to promise."³

At this point Jan Matthys, a Haarlem master-baker, appears as the new Anabaptist prophet. What was "close at hand" with Hoffmann was already arrived for Matthys. What the latter had held to be a vague prospect, Matthys preached as an immediate duty and a sacred task. The zeal with which the Brethren should now seize the "sword of sharpness" would be the measure of their loyalty and devotion to the cause of God. The call met with an enthusiastic response. The causes of discontent and social revolt that produced the Peasant Wars were still operating.

¹Ibid., p. 104.

²Ibid., pp. 106-107.

³Ibid., pp. 106-107.

These underlying motives for social revolution were supplied by the corruption and unseemly wealth of the Church, the insatiable greed of the vampire nobles, the economic misery of the laborers held in semi-serfdom on the land, and the hard condition of the artisans in the cities, who were excluded from the growing prosperity of the new capitalistic regime by the selfish policy of the guilds and guild masters.¹ These causes, still actively present and most keenly felt, while the memory of their disastrous defeat of 1526 had faded somewhat away, "led," says Bax, "to the natural man, reasserting himself and to renewed hopes of his being saved in this world by his own action."²

About this time (February 1833), the city of Münster, in Westphalia, made a treaty of peace with its territorial overlord, who granted such favorable terms to heretics that Münster became the new center to which the discontented of every stripe flocked from all quarters. A stream of Anabaptists poured in and, under the leadership of Jan Matthys, who was later succeeded by his disciple Jan Bockelson of Leyden, eventually siezed first the established church, then the town government, and entered upon the fulfillment of the long promised Day of the Lord. The Bishop in whose see the city lay soon appeared at the head of a small army, breathing out vengeance. The Saints defended the walls during a long siege of a year or more. It is not possible or necessary to describe the fanatical extravagances and orgies that accompanied the reign of "King"³ Jan in the New Jerusalem during those months. Picturesque as it is, it has to do with the history of antinomian fanaticism and chiliastic delusions rather than the story of passive resistance. The end of it all was the fall of the city, after a most brave and efficient defense, and the utter collapse of all the mundane hopes

¹ See MacKinnon, "A History of Modern Liberty." Vol. I. Ch. IX.

² Op. cit., p., 114.

³ Jan Bockelson, or John of Leyden.

of the Saints..

A reaction to the original peaceable Anabaptism followed. It was seen that this doctrine of the sword of vengeance had been a delusion and a snare. Bax attributes directly to the fall of Münster that increased influence and final ascendancy of the peaceable, strictly non-resistant element, which immediately followed the catastrophe. Many Anabaptists in Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands, were free from complicity in the Münster affair. The view now destined to prevail had always been theirs.

Several parties, representing various shades of the doctrine, have been distinguished in the realignment following the fall of Münster. David Georg, or Jöris, feeling the need of some concession to those who still demanded a little hope for this world, professed "to believe in the ultimate acceptance of Anabaptist teaching by the great ones of the earth, who would then voluntarily lay down their wealth and privileges, and thus the ideal of the reign of the Saints on earth would be pacifically inaugurated."¹ On the other hand were the extreme non-resistants, called "Obbenites." This party taught, as one of its leading tenets, that no other social and political conditions than those already established, were to be looked for here below, and that it was the duty of the Saints to accept them in all humility as the dispensation of God."² This doctrine of acquiescence was given a great impetus by the appearance of an advocate of high character and great ability, Menno Simons. His followers, the Menists of earlier writers, or modern Menonites, took up and carried on the true non-resistant doctrine which survived the wreck of its violent perversion at Münster, just as the Bohemian Brethren rescued the peaceable legacy of John Hus from the conflagration of the Hussite Wars.³

¹ Ibid., p. 327.

² Ibid., p. 325.

³ Cf. Moeller, op. cit., p.

The Mennonites.

Menno Simons, the new leader of the peaceable, non-fanatical Anabaptists, of whom, as has been said, there were many, was born in 1492 in West Friesland. He was, in early life, a careless time-serving priest of the Roman Catholic church. The martyrdom of an Anabaptist in a neighboring town awoke him from his spiritual lethargy, and he began to study for himself the question of infant baptism. In 1535, three hundred poor fugitives from Münster were pursued to a neighboring monastery and most of them, including his own brother, were slain. This tragic event further impressed his mind and awoke in him a strong sense of his duty to live a more profitable life in testifying to the simple truths of the Gospel. In 1536 he openly renounced the Roman Catholic church and was baptised by Anabaptists, being ordained to the ministry by Obbe Philip, the leader of the Obbenite party mentioned above.¹

The remainder of Menno's days were spent in disseminating the truth as understood by the non-resistant Anabaptists. He performed valiant service by his controversial writings and public disputations. This occurred during a brief rest from persecutions, enjoyed under the tolerant Duke Charles of Gelders in West Friesland. Soon, however, a price was set on his head and he was so persistently hounded from place to place that several persons were burned at the stake simply for giving him shelter or for printing his writings.²

This relentless persecution was waged against the Mennonites by the Protestant Churches no less than the Roman Catholic, and the question may well be asked why there should be such a unity of hatred a-

¹ See the scholarly history entitled "The Mennonites of America," by C. Henry Smith, on which this account is principally based. In this case as elsewhere in the history, the present writer is responsible for general interpretations not otherwise credited.

² Ibid., p. 62.

against a meek and non-resisting people. But their non-resistant doctrine was perhaps their worst offense. It struck at the very foundation stone of the established State church, whether Roman Catholic, Lutheran, or Reformed. The Mennonites had a special testimony against the union of church and state, against all participation in government on the part of Christians. So distinctive is that doctrine that the whole subsequent history of the sect centers about it, as will appear more fully in connection with their later career, in Pennsylvania. It is therefore necessary to examine their statement of the non-resistant faith. We quote from their historian, Prof. Smith: "They adopted bodily the faith of the peaceful type of Anabaptists, and that was a rejection of all civil and a great deal of the prevailing ecclesiastical government as unnecessary for the Christian." They "went no further, however, in their opposition to the temporal authority than to declare that the true church and the temporal powers had nothing in common and must be entirely separate; not only must the state not interfere with the church, but the true Christian must be entirely free from participating in civil matters."¹ The temporal authority must needs exist, since it was instituted of God to punish the wicked, but in that work the Christian had no hand. This position they reached from a literal interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount, where Christ taught his disciples among other things to 'love their enemies' and to 'swear not at all.' Hence their position involved opposition to the oath, holding of office, and bearing of arms."²

That their teachings were regarded as a dangerous political heresy is shown by the fact that the records kept by the authorities in the heresy trials state that they were "accused of rejecting infant

¹ Italics mine.

² Op., cit., pp. 353-354.

baptism, and of being opposed to the oath, warfare, and the holding of office." Hence it is not surprising that they were assailed by the Reformed party in the Netherlands (1596) as being "destructive of all religious and civil order."¹ In the light of these considerations it is easier to understand why the Peace of Westphalia, 1648, failed to bring rest to the hunted Anabaptists and Mennonites.

The Mennonites were numerous in the Netherlands, Switzerland, and parts of Germany. The State Reformed Church of Switzerland persecuted them cruelly, and its animosity pursued them into the Netherlands, sending an ambassador to plead with the States-General of Holland to transport the Dutch Mennonites to the wilds of America. St. Saphorin, the Swiss agent, even sought the influence of the English Lord Townshend in support of his efforts, but the scheme failed. The States-General appreciated too highly the value of these peaceable, industrious, and submissive citizens to deprive the land of their presence, and he nobly scorned any action that might be interpreted as an endorsement of the Swiss policy. In the course of these experiences the sober worth of the Mennonites was testified to, sometimes unwittingly, even by their enemies, and their love of native land is abundantly evident.

But other states of Europe appreciated their value as citizens as well as did Holland. So we find the States General successfully encouraging Frederick of Prussia, in 1710, in his desire to settle some of the Swiss Mennonites upon his unoccupied lands. A goodly number accepted the invitation, and "were granted religious toleration and freedom from military service."² They were next wanted in Russia. Catherine the Great invited them, in 1786, to settle upon her waste lands in Southern Russia near the mouth of the Dnieper. She offered them free

¹ Ibid., pp. 71 and 67.

² Ibid., p. 79.

transportation,lands,religious toleration,and freedom from military service. The Prussian government,loath to part with them,refused them passports,so that they were compelled to escape by secret flight from their too appreciative sovereign. Smith says that by 1788 about two hundred families had settled in Southern Russia.¹ Paul I.,in order to encourage further immigration,granted them additional privileges,including the right of affirmation in place of the judicial oath.

So prosperous were the Mennonites in Russia that they aroused the envy of their neighbors,who begrudged them their hard-won exemptions. The same were,by the Czar's proclamation,ordered withdrawn,gradually,within ten years. So about 1874 they were again seeking an asylum,this time in America,and were again solicited by government to remain,with concessions. In all this is presented the remarkable spectacle of a people,declared to be dangerous to all civil order,everywhere lauded as citizens,and everywhere begged,by the"imperilled" government itself,to remain under its rule.

But in this last incident we have anticipated the later history. For the present it must suffice to note that the first emigration of this persecuted people to the New World occurred about 1663,and the place was at Plockhoy's Utopian colony on the Delaware River. The fate of this romantic Utopian enterprise,like Raleigh's lost colony of Roanoke,is wrapped in mystery. It disappeared,at least as a distinguishable Mennonite colony. The first permanent settlement of Mennonites in America was made at Germantown in 1683. Their career there is so intimately blended with that of the English Quakers,that the further account must be deferred for the present.²

¹ Ibid.,p.324.

² The method of procedure for the remainder of this chapter will be first to describe in turn the origin and foundation principles of each sect and their career in Europe,leaving their experience in America for discussion later in the chapter.

The Collegiants.

A peace movement within the established churches should be mentioned at this point inasmuch as, like one wing of the Mennonite movement, it was of Dutch origin. Smith says that the Mennonites fraternized with the Collegiants, who represented a movement for a creedless, spiritual worship within the various denominations. It arose in Rhynsburg, Holland, in 1619. "They evaded all controversies and tolerated all opinions not directly condemned by the Bible, and like the Mennonites they opposed oaths and war."¹

The Moravians.

The ancient church of the Bohemian Brethren, or Unitas Fratrum, survived all the perils of persecution, Reformation, and Counter-Reformation, and remained as a "Hidden Seed" in Bohemia and Moravia even after the visible church there had been crushed and scattered to the four winds. The beliefs and usages of the Brethren were secretly cherished in certain families and the line of bishops was never broken. One of the latter, Jablonski, was acting as court preacher in Berlin when the time came for the revival of the "Hidden Seed," and he, with the consent of the other surviving bishop, transferred the episcopacy to David Nitschmann, as leader of the revived Unitas Fratrum, or Moravian church.²

In this remarkable revival of an ancient faith a prominent part was played by Nicholas Louis, Count Zinzendorf, scion of an Austrian house dating back to the thirteenth century. Having been from childhood of a deeply religious disposition, the efforts of his family to divert him to the law were of slight avail, and upon his marriage, in

¹ Op.cit., p.69.

² This account is based largely on "A History of the Unitas Fratrum, or Moravian Church, in the United States of America," by J. Taylor Hamilton, in "The American Church History Series," vol.VIII.

1722, Zinzendorf settled upon his estate at Berthelsdorf, Saxony, with the intention of devoting his life to the social and spiritual well-being of the country-side. Here his attention was drawn to one Christian David and his companions.

David was a young Moravian carpenter, who had recently returned from his "Wanderjahre" and a period of military service, to Moravia, having consecrated himself to the work of an evangelist. In Moravia he sought out certain of the families wherein was cherished the "Hidden Seed" of the ancient faith and with them he planned to emigrate from the priest-ridden land of Moravia. Stealing away in the darkness of night, having forsaken all their worldly goods and prospects, David, with the two Neisser brothers and their families, ten persons all told, made the toilsome journey on foot into Upper Lusatia. Here they were granted an asylum by Zinzendorf, and here, being joined later by other refugee Moravians, they revived the ancient Unitas Fratrum in the form of the modern Moravian church.

Count Zinzendorf himself was eventually ordained a bishop, and the work grew rapidly under his fostering care. With certain of his friends, he erected, at Herrnhut, a college for young noblemen. The population, the school, and the religious organization grew, and took definite form and organization. Herrnhut became the center of a great evangelical movement, which sought to advance experimental religion within the Protestant churches. After the transfer of the episcopacy by Jablonski to the new organization, in 1735, a work along the line of foreign missions, already begun, was rapidly extended, and soon grew to enormous proportions. In fact, zeal for the spread of evangelical religion of the personal type and an intense devotion to foreign missions seem to afford the principal key to Moravian history. Count Zinzendorf dominated the organization throughout his life-time. Being sincerely attached to the State Church of his native land he would not

allow the renewed Unitas Fratrum to expand as other churches normally do, but gathered its European, and for awhile its American members, into somewhat exclusive settlements, which were to act as disseminating centers for the advancement of true evangelical faith in all the churches. This was the Diaspora, or Inner Mission of the State Churches.¹

The point of interest for this essay is, of course, the Moravian doctrine of passive resistance, but one looks in vain for a definite formal statement in Moravian publications. The Moravians make it a matter of principle to avoid any credal statement, and declare they seek to invent no new system.² Therefore their testimony on the problems of passive resistance is to be sought in their history. One field has already yielded rich results in our sketch of their progenitors, the Bohemian Brethren. The other must be explored in connection with their missions in America, as will be done later in this chapter. For the present it is sufficient to remark that their missionary work in the New World began in 1732, in the West Indies, and was extended to Georgia and Pennsylvania about 1735. Here their peace principles were to be severely tested.

The Schwenkfelders.

The story of the Schwenkfelders is intimately connected, in its early stages, with that of Zinzendorf and the Moravians. This was more or less fortuitous, although not insignificant. But the first mention must be accorded to Caspar Schwenkfeld. From him the name is derived; to him the Schwenkfelders look back with profoundest reverence, but with no superstitious or man-worshipping spirit; and to his memory they are even now paying tribute in the publication, by a committee of their

¹ Cf. "The Moravians and Their Faith," by Bishop Edmond de Schweinitz. Special Moravian Publication Fund Committee, Leaflet No. 2., p. 7.

² Ibid., p. 9.

organization, of the monumental "Corpus Schwenfeldianorum," a voluminous series in which all his own writings and those of others shedding light on his life and doctrines will appear. For doctrinal zeal is the clue to Schwenkfeldian history. A recent historian of their faith¹ prefaces his account with the remark that "should some kind reader feel that undue prominence has been given in the sketch to the religious and doctrinal phase of life, it is hoped that a careful perusal of the whole will satisfy him that to eliminate this feature would be equal to taking the Prince of Denmark out of 'Hamlet,' Christian out of Bunyan's 'Pilgrim's Progress' or Washington out of the 'History of the American Revolution.'" Kriebel's own presentation of Schwenkfeldian history bears out his assertion, and it appears that the founders of the church in Pennsylvania also felt doctrinal purity to be their mission. In "an account and statement of the examination which the house-fathers regard necessary to be held of those who make request to have the marriage ceremony performed among us," (about the year 1779) appears the following: "And since the doctrine which they (the original emigrants from Germany) confessed as we yet do is the only principal article which differentiates us from other people and thus makes us a people, distinct and separate from others, it is becoming that we house-fathers even now yet (as our forefathers then) should in all important events (as also in the case of marriage) permit doctrine at no time to cease to be our distinguishing mark."²

It is fortunate that such zeal should have been manifested, not in the interest of the superstitious trappings of a legal, ecclesias-

¹ Howard Wiegner Kriebel, in "The Schwenkfelders in Pennsylvania, a Historical Sketch;" Pennsylvania-German Society Publications. Volume 13, Part XII. (1902)

² Ibid., p. 221. Italics mine. Moeller, "History of the Christian Church," Vol. III., p. 462, mentions the same tendency.

tical religion, but for a faith so simple, pure, and intellectually independent as that of the Schwenkfelders. Their great leader, Caspar Schwenkfeld, was, like Zinzendorf, of noble lineage, coming from Catholic parents of Silesia in Germany. He was born about 1490, and was well advanced along the road of a genuine religious reformation when Luther began his great work. Schwenkfeld, after a number of years service in the courts of various German rulers, had turned from the promise of worldly honors, to devote his life, like Zinzendorf, to the service of a spiritual kingdom. At first he and Luther worked harmoniously together, but after 1524 the latter repudiated the Silesian reformer in a fiery letter, which may be counted the opening blast of "the storm of persecution which *** was destined, under God's Providence, to blow about the heads of Schwenkfeld and his followers for more than 200 years."¹

The passive resistant principles of the Schwenkfelders in so far as they are not directly drawn from the Gospels, are to be sought in the character and doctrines of their founder and in their history. While distinctly a peace sect, they have manifested their convictions by their conduct, and do not enunciate the doctrine very fully in their writings until the pressure of the American wars call for a definite statement of policy. This will appear later, but for the present a brief sketch of their European experience, up to the time of their departure for Pennsylvania, is in order.

Schwenkfeld himself was a most interesting person, whose admirable virtues and noble conduct is matched only by the life-long abuse heaped upon his head by the intolerant dogmatists and vested ecclesiastical interests of the time.² As remarked in an earlier connection,

¹ Ibid., p. 3.

² Kriebel, op. cit., p. 6, gives a list of 19 epithets from the armory of his calumniators, ranging all the way from plain description to the vile and venomous.

he is numbered by Jones among the "Spiritual Reformers." From the opening of his powerful pen-portrait the following is taken: "Among all the Reformers of the sixteenth century who worked at the immense task of recovering, purifying, and restating the Christian Faith, no one was nobler in life and personality, and no one was more uncompromisingly dedicated to the mission of bringing into the life of the people a type of Christianity winnowed clean from the husks of superstition and tradition and grounded in ethical and spiritual reality, than was Caspar Schwenkfeld, the Silesian noble."¹

Schwenkfeld was friendly toward the Anabaptists, but not one of them, inasmuch as he laid so little stress upon baptism in any form. His attention was centered on the "Glory of Christ" and the deep inwardness of the religion that consists in the heart's true faith toward Him. For Schwenkfeld, says Jones, a principal sign of the transformed life is "the attainment of a joy which spreads through the inward spirit and shines on the face -- a joy which can turn hard exile into a Ruheschloss, 'a castle of peace.'"²

This inward "castle of peace" is probably the source of the Schwenkfeldian testimony for peace and non-resistance. It is peculiarly characteristic of the Quaker type, and it is worth while to observe in passing that the source of both the Schwenkfelder and Quaker testimonies lies in a very deep inward spiritual experience. It was in the security of this Ruheschloss that Schwenkfeld relinquished all his worldly estates and castles, and wandered all his life as a voluntary exile. His peaceable goodwill embraced not only the Anabaptists, but also the Catholic, Lutheran and Zwinglian churches. He never sought to found a sect of his own. The sole cause of his exile was his unbending though gentle refusal to abate one iota of his convictions concerning

¹ Jones, Op.cit., p.64.

² Ibid., p.72.

the nature of the true Christian faith. His life supremely exemplifies that union of gentleness and strength which characterizes the true passive resistant of the finest type.

The persecution of Schwenkfeld emanated principally from the rulers of church and state. "The common people could not be incited against him," and, at the time of his death in 1562, his adherents numbered at least four thousand. Among his defenders were many princes and nobles, so that nothing but the most strenuous efforts on the part of the religio-political state prevented Silesia from adopting the "Reformation by the Middle Way," as the Schwenkfeldian movement was styled.

The Schwenkfelders soon fell on evil times. Not being among the religions tolerated by the Treaty of Westphalia and other religio-political agreements, they were not permitted to maintain a congregational life. At first they were scattered among the membership of the established churches and left to lose their zeal by a process of assimilation. This policy was partially successful, but was followed by more active measures. First, the Lutheran pastor of Harpersdorf sought the aid of the state authorities in an effort to coerce the Schwenkfelders. This drew the attention of the imperial court, with the result that the Lutherans were ordered to keep their hands off and give the Roman Catholics a free hand. Jesuit missionaries were at once sent among them, and by persuasions and threats the Schwenkfelders were to be forced into the Roman church. The Schwenkfelders sent a deputation to Vienna to plead for toleration. After four years of discouraging effort they were refused and forbidden ever to petition again. About this time forcible baptism of their children began.

The Schwenkfelders now determined on flight. Their efforts to

¹ Kriebel, op.cit., p.71.

find an asylum in Holland, near the Mennonites, were unsuccessful. In this extremity they appealed to Count Zinzendorf, and were promised a haven under his protection at Herrnhut and elsewhere. Stealing away in the night, "taking naught with them but sorrow and poverty," they left Silesia for Saxony. Here they resided, with a sort of semi-independent existence, Count Zinzendorf seeking, as "Reformer of the Schwenkfelders,"¹ to draw them into membership with the state church there.

In 1733, a change in the government of Saxony gave the Jesuits an opening, and they petitioned the new ruler for the deportation of the fugitives back to Silesia. Notice was given them to migrate within a year. The King of Prussia had long desired them to settle near Berlin, in order to establish the manufacture of linen there, but they still had serious objections to that plan. After the failure of several prospecting efforts in various parts of Germany, their eyes turned toward America.

Their great dread was that their poverty, which would not permit them to pay their ship passage, might require them to go as "redemptioners." In that case they would be scattered throughout the colony as bond-servants, to work out the costs of their passage. Count Zinzendorf sought to make arrangements that would avoid this calamity, with the "Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia." But he was not able to complete the arrangements in time. The Schwenkfelders left singly, or in groups, as they had been ordered to do by the government, for the sea-coast. But instead of embarking for Georgia, they made their way, by slow stages, to Pennsylvania. In this migration they were very generously aided by the Dutch Mennonites, and finally, to the number of about 300 persons, they landed at Philadelphia in 1734, almost simultaneously

¹ Ibid., p. 27.

with the Moravians, as previously narrated.

The Dunkers

The German Baptists, or Dunkers, are, as the name indicates, a detachment of the great Anabaptist army. They represent also the more strictly spiritual movement begun by Spener in 1690, and known as Pietism. Pietism originated within the Lutheran Church, to which Spener always remained attached, but it spread far beyond its original bounds. It was a reaction against the intolerant dogmatism and formalism of the State religion. The latter placed its supreme and final emphasis on matters of intellectual belief, on correct doctrine; Pietism was chiefly concerned in the practical questions connected with daily Christian living. But the Dunkers were not alone in their identification with this Pietistic movement. Every non-resistant sect with which this account has to do, represents in some way this same aspiration after a life of simple faith and genuine piety. But just as the Schwenkfelders and Quakers represent the more mystical aspect of Pietism in this broad sense, so the Dunkers are typical of its more literalistic, non-mystical phase. In fact, the Dunkers have, throughout their history, looked upon every tendency toward mysticism as evil and have sedulously avoided it at every turn.

Professor Gillin, in his remarkable sociological interpretation of the Dunkers,¹ has applied to them the theory of "consciousness of kind,"² and finds in it the clue to Dunker history. The principle would seem to apply with peculiar force to these German Baptists, but doubtless much in the history of the kindred sects may be due to a

¹ "The Dunkers; a Sociological Interpretation" by John Lewis Gillin. A doctor's dissertation, Columbia University. 1906.

² See Giddings: "Principles of Sociology."

similar, though less strongly developed, "consciousness of kind." This feeling was fostered, in those who later formed the Dunker sect, by the peculiar conditions of their life in the German province of Hesse-Darmstadt. Following Professor Gillin's account, we find that the little Grand Duchy by the above name enjoyed a tolerant policy on the part of its rulers which encouraged the entrance into this medieval melting pot of fugitive sectarians of many varieties. The physical characteristics of the country and also its location were such as to attract a most heterogeneous population representing both extremes, and all the shades, of social life. State-established orthodoxy and intolerance flourished among the rich, while Pietism and Anabaptism enlisted the sympathies of the poor. Moreover, within this heterogeneous country were little isolated valleys, where a more homogeneous unity on the part of the population was the natural result of closer association. Such a valley was Wittgenstein, within whose limits, at Schwartzzenau, the Dunkers took their beginning, in the year 1708.

Their leader was Alexander Mack, who had been a wealthy miller at Shriesheim Qn-der-Bergstrosse, and a member of the Reformed church. Not much is known of his earlier career, but he seems to have held views of religion that brought him into conflict with the authorities. At any rate, he appeared about this time at Schwarzenau, and soon came strongly under the influence of other persecuted Pietists and separatists whom the neighboring districts had poured into Wittgenstein. Here Mack gave much time to discussion and earnest reflection on the much-mooted religious doctrines of that day, and gradually there formed in his mind certain ideals, which were to take outward form in the Dunker church, when the hour should come for certain congenial, like-minded spirits to find one another out.

Mack, and those who were to be his later companions, had noted the

selfish greed, intolerant dogmatism, elaborate ceremonial, social pride, and general worldliness of those who were equally great and influential in both Church and State. These simple Pietists felt the incongruity of such conduct with the meek simplicity of the Gospel teachings, and a keen sense of disapproval of the whole program of their oppressors came to fill their souls. They felt that the way of salvation was to obey the command to come out from among those who practised such wickedness and be separate. Gradually they grew into a strong sense of their own unlikeness to these religious and social opponents, and this feeling was enhanced by a strong sense of their own similarity, i.e., a consciousness of kind.

Gradually these primitive Baptist Brethren of Schwarzenau formulated their purpose, which was to found a distinct sect, based upon absolute obedience to the teachings of the Bible, as literally interpreted in every detail. It is in pursuance of this effort at literal obedience to all Scriptural commands and precedents that, to this day, the Dunkers baptize in running streams, eat the Christian Passover as a real supper, wash one another's feet, and greet one another with the holy kiss of peace.

Having determined to form a true Christian church, they could not and would not receive baptism from the unregenerate churches by which they were persecuted. So they cast lots, and, like the original Anabaptists at Zurich, baptized one another. "The first baptism occurred in the solitude of the early morning, in the Eder river, a small stream that flows past Schwarzenau, sometime in the year 1708."¹

Under the sense of joy and assurance that followed this action, they began to proclaim their doctrines and to gather adherents. Perse-

¹ Ibid., p. 61.

cutation immediately descended upon them. They endured it with the courage of true non-resistants, but the sect has never shown that aggressiveness which welcomes persecution and even provokes it, such as has characterized some others at various times. Nevertheless, the Dunkers "took joyfully the spoiling of their goods," and courageously continued their testimony, sowing the seeds of their teaching as they were driven from place to place. Four congregations were founded. Two soon melted away under persecution, and finally the members of the remaining two congregations after seeking vainly an asylum in Prussia, Holland, and Switzerland, left, first for Friesland and eventually for Pennsylvania. Thus says Falkenstein, their historian,¹ "we have the unique example in history of the emigration of an entire religious denomination."

The movement in Europe seems to have died out completely with this emigration, which occurred in 1719. As usual, they left the good reputation of non-resistant citizens behind them. "The administrator of the Count of Schwazzenau in 1720 could say this only, 'that for a long time many pious people have lived around here, of whom no one heard anything bad, but perceived that they conducted themselves in a wholly pious and quiet manner, and by no one had a complaint been made of them. There were about forty families of them, about two hundred persons, that lately have betaken themselves entirely out of the land, of whom it is said of them that they were Anabaptists!'"²

The Dunkers have always been non-resistants and political non-participants. Both positions are in harmony with their Anabaptist an-

¹ "The German Baptist Brethren, or Dunkers," by George N. Falkenstein, in "Publications of the Pennsylvania-German Historical Society,"

² Vol. 10, Part VIII., (1900). See p. 23.

Gilllin, op. cit., p. 72.

tecedents. Moreover, they devoted themselves to the exemplification of a literal New Testament life. This yearning after the apostolic standard, as we have seen over and over, could hardly fail to lead them to non-resistant principles. But Professor Gillin has added a new motive, and this section may be brought to a close with his explanation of their peace teachings: "The reason of the Dunkers' refusal to bear arms, and to take oaths, lay in a similar opposition to a government that oppressed them, as that which provoked resistance by the early Christians to war and the use of the oath, and also by the Jews in the period preceding the advent of Christ. They were keenly conscious of a difference between themselves and the governing class and all persons that were connected with the latter. Feeling themselves right before God, they necessarily regarded as wrong those beliefs and practices of their enemies, which were in any way responsible for the harsh conduct of the latter towards them. What then, could be more wrong than the state and the clergy, the very instruments of their oppression? War must be wrong, because it was the instrument by which innocent and good men were made to suffer. The oath must be wrong, because it was the sacred instrument of the state, and the state abused the righteous; because it was used by men that hated the just; because it was an instrument of evil consecrated by a religious sanction. Scripture, of course became a weapon of defense. Of all the Anabaptists only those of Münster believed in war. They held to it because of their doctrine of the millennial kingdom of Christ on earth."¹

Whatever may be the bearing of "consciousness of kind" on the Dunker peace principles, it is certain that they have always been of a decidedly clannish and retiring disposition. A strain of communism, which crept into their early congregations in Europe, was finally cast

¹ Ibid. p., 49.

out completely, in the secession of the Wissachickon/Hermits and Ephrata Brethren, who will be mentioned later under "communistic non-resistants." For the present it will be sufficient to notice that the Dunkers have made, not the communistic colony, but a close community of family and neighborhood, the basis of their existence. Their chief glory is the blending of piety, thrift, and domestic joys, which is characteristic of their history. Their strong consciousness of kind has expressed itself in this way. They have often preferred to worship in private homes rather than churches, because they were thus following the example of the early Christian disciples. The "home was a sanctuary. Here gathered parents and children, old and young, for the public preaching service. No other power on earth," continues Falkenstein, "can equal in far-reaching influence this combination of the home and the church."¹

In connection with this home, which was usually a farm-stead, they devoted the energies of their strong and populous families to agriculture, and are probably the best farmers in the world.²

In the light of these facts it is easy to see how it comes about that the Dunkers are non-resistants, and not passive resistants, as defined in this essay. They have not been aggressive in politics or social reforms. Withdrawn into their quiet neighborhoods, they have been, like the Mennonites, political non-participants, and also non-litigants, as well as opposed to war. Their traits and utterances will appear more fully in the later discussions.

Aside from the communistic non-resistants to be mentioned at the close of the present chapter, there remains only one more distinctive peace sect to be described -- the Society of Friends or Quakers. Their history has long brought them into relations of very close mutual sympathy and helpfulness with the modern sects already described.

¹Op.cit., p.45, ²Gillin, op.cit., p.214, note. Falkenstein, op.cit.,

Yet in several respects they stand somewhat apart. In the first place, the Anabaptists, Mennonites, Schwenkfelders, and Dunkers were all German or Holland-Dutch, while the Quakers are of English origin.

In the second place, all the sects thus far described are non-resistants, while the Quakers are passive resistants, as these terms are herein defined. That is, the German sects, with slight exceptions, repudiated the constabulary along with war. Hence they not only refused to fight, but also refrained from participation in civil government by voting or holding office, and they have usually held it wrong to sue in the courts. The Mennonites have given, perhaps, the clearest example of the non-litigant, non-political, non-resistant policy, but the Dunkers are hardly second to them. In all this, both sects have preserved unmodified the original doctrines of their Anabaptist progenitors. In a thorough and sweeping way they have obeyed literally the commandment "Resist not evil."

The Quakers, on the other hand, are typical passive, (or moral), resistants. That is to say, they do not resist evil by physical violence, but they are noted for their resistance of political and social wrongs by political and social means. They have wielded an influence in English and American history out of all proportion to their numbers, so that it is impossible to write the history of modern liberty and social reform without at the same time writing in part the history of the Society of Friends. The foregoing sects, especially the Schwenkfelders, sometimes display this active tendency also, but their characteristic attitude is that of non-resistance, as has been shown.

In the third place, the non-resistant sects described are pietists, while the Quakers have been called "the English Mystics." The former trace their spiritual ancestry back to Spener, the Friends are the

spiritual descendants of Boehme and the other "Spirituals" or mystics, of Germany. But in this respect again, we find the Schwenkfelders inclining most fully toward the Quaker position. Their great teacher, Caspar Schwenkfeld, belongs with the mystical group of spiritual reformers, rather than with the more traditional and literalistic pietists. This combination of mysticism and intense social activity in the Quaker type is all the more striking, inasmuch as mysticism has usually been supposed to lead to quietism and passivism. Nevertheless this contrast in the peace sects remains as a given fact. We have the pietistic non-resistant over against the mystical passive resistant. These distinctions emerge with increasing clearness as one studies inductively the history and the traits of the various sects.

In so far as any explanation of these differences is to be attempted, it must be deferred to the final chapter of this essay. Yet it would be easy^{to} over-emphasize differences. Probably the Quaker has more in common with the non-resistant sects, than he has points of differentiation from them. As Professor Gillin truly observes, "in race the Dunkers, Mennonites and Quakers originally belonged to the same ethnic stock, — Teutonic. Penn's mother was Dutch. The persecutions of the Mennonites and Anabaptists of Holland and Germany had driven many of them to England where they had become Quakers. That Penn in all his sympathies was a Teuton is shown by the heartiness with which he was received by the Germans and the Dutch in his journeys on the Continent in 1677."¹

Moreover, the Quakers and the other peace sects made common cause on more than one occasion, especially during the times of stress in Pennsylvania due to the colonial and Revolutionary wars. This sense of

¹ Op.cit., p. 124.

likeness was especially marked in the case of the Mennonites. In fact, it is impossible to be sure whether certain of the founders of Germantown, Pennsylvania, were Quakers or Mennonites. Smith¹ finds it convenient to use the term Mennonite-Quaker, so closely identified were many pioneers with the two organizations. A high authority² in this field of history has shown the very close and affectionate relations that prevailed between the Quakers and Mennonites in Holland, and concludes that "in fact, transition between the two sects both ways was easy." Pennypacker and others have pointed out that, according to Robert Barkley, the Quaker theologian, George Fox himself was "the unconscious exponent of the doctrine, practice, and discipline of the ancient and stricter party of Dutch Mennonites."

The Quakers.

It is out of question to attempt even a bare outline of the passive resistant aspects of the Society of Friends. But much of their history will appear, along with ^{that of} the other sects, as illustrative material in the later chapters. It has been said above that they are the typical passive resistant sect. In the popular mind the very name "Quaker" has become a synonym for non-resistance and peace. This is well exemplified in the use of the term by a recent writer. Roosevelt, in a chapter on "The Moravian Massacre,"³ in order to make their character clear to the reader, speaks of these Indians, who had been converted to Christian non-resistance by the Moravian missionaries, as "Quaker Indians;" and a few pages farther on he identifies the "Dunkards" as "Quaker-like Germans."⁴ This is but one among many evidences that the

¹ In his "The Mennonites of America," Chapter IV.

² Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker, in "The Settlement of Germantown, Pennsylvania, and the Beginning of German Immigration to North America." Publications of the Pennsylvania-German Society. Vol. IX (1899)

³ In "The Winning of the West," Vol. II., ch. V. ⁴ Ibid., pp. 142 and 146.

sect now under consideration must, because of its peculiar prominence in history, furnish a large part of the materials for any theory of the social psychology of passive resistance. It is therefore important to seek first of all the origin of that spirit which has made the words "Friend" and "Quaker" synonyms for gentleness and peace.

George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, was born in Leicestershire, England, about the year 1624. He was descended from honest and pious parents of the artisan class. His father was a weaver. "The neighbors called him Righteous Christer. My mother was an upright woman *** and of the stock of the martyrs."¹ George Fox grew up from an innocent boyhood and a youth spent as a "Seeker," into a powerful man of God — a real prophet^{who} shook the England of his day, and gathered around him not only such intellectual and moral giants as William Penn and Robert Barclay, but also a host of able preachers and public-minded leaders. Through their combined efforts almost the whole accessible world was visited, and a good part of it colonized within Fox's lifetime. From its very beginning Quakerism was marked by a burning zeal to "convince" all men of their divine call to a great peace and consciousness of power that had come to fill the souls of its founders, and by the impelling sense of a mission toward rulers and all in authority. The former made them such untiring missionaries that the journeys of Fox, Edmundson, and others in America, through the colonial wilderness, from Georgia to Massachusetts mostly on foot or in canoes, make the most strenuous exploits of our modern Appalachian Clubs, etc., pale into picnic jaunts. Their sense of duty toward those in authority sent them before Kings and Czars, and into legislatures and courts, with their "testimony" against social wrongs and their Scriptural exhorta-

¹ "George Fox; An Autobiography," by Rufus M. Jones, (Edit.) pp. 65-66.

tions to rule righteously.

All the sects who had gone before them since the days of the apostles had testified nobly and clearly against war. There was nothing for Fox to add as regards the formulation of that doctrine. In so far as he contributed anything new it lies in his terse characterization of the real root of the Christian peace principle, and in the organized movement which he inaugurated. While in the "house of correction" on some false accusation in connection with his religious activities, Cromwell's commissioners were seized with the idea that it would be good to make a captain out of this man of powerful physique and commanding presence. The soldiers also cried out, saying that they would have none but Fox. His Journal records: "I told them I knew whence all wars arose, even from the lusts, according to James' doctrine; and that I lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars." Professor Jones remarks, with truth, "This is the true ground of opposition to war, namely, that a Christian is to live a life that does away with the occasion for war."¹

This statement is brief, but it is fundamental. It makes of the peace doctrine a principle of present, living reality, as well as a sacred tradition. Fox substituted for the tradition its moral fountain-head, the spiritual experience that first gave it birth. In so doing, he really explained how it is unmistakably present in the New Testament, although no explicit statements are to be found there on the subject of war. This shows why, as the foregoing history has fully illustrated, the doctrine has appeared always wherever the New Testament was read, and disappears when it is neglected.

This elevation of the soul above warfare by means of a deep inward spiritual experience was not new in the world with George Fox.

¹ Ibid., p. 128.

Thousands of the devoted men and women whose story we have sketched, and especially the spiritual reformers who anticipated most of the Quaker doctrines, knew what it was as a living experience. The particular work of the Friends was to make it a common experience among the thousands who responded to their call, and, later, to attempt the application of the principle of peace on a grand scale in public life. In comparing the work of Hugo Grotius and George Fox, Dr. Trueblood¹ strikingly observes that in the growth of the Society of Friends it was as if Grotius, the father of international law, had trained and sent forth a hundred thousand international lawyers. That is to say, every member of the Society of Friends became a fully equipped advocate of peace. In fact, it is not too much to say that the Quakers have maintained for more than two hundred years a very active and never-relaxing peace society. The various other non-resistant sects have shown the same constancy but not always the same activity. But activity has been sometimes manifested at the expense of logical consistency, as will appear in the following chapter.

The history of passive resistance, as it has been traced in the preceding pages, has presented the three phases of the problem, viz., (1) the testimony concerning personal retaliation; (2) that concerning the magistracy and constabulary, or, in other words, the doctrine of the State; and, (3) the testimony against war. Each of these doctrines may be stated both as a negative and a positive principle, as follows: (1) The doctrine of retaliation teaches, negatively, that vengeance is forbidden; positively, it requires that one return good for evil; (2) The doctrine of the State, expressed negatively, is that the State is essentially violent and un-Christian and therefore that Christians can have

¹ In his pamphlet "Evolution of the Peace Idea."

no participation in civil government; the positive side is that Christian citizens must seize the State and make it the instrument of God's Kingdom; (3) The negative doctrine of War condemns it as organized murder and refuses to support the military establishment; the positive side is expressed in the modern peace and arbitration cause.

The doctrine of personal retaliation, as the history has shown, was enunciated negatively, i.e. forbidding revenge, by Confucius, and positively, as overcoming through love, by Lâo Tse, Gautama, the Stoics and Jesus. The negative obligation of a life superior to personal spite and vengeance is enjoined by all ethical religions, and is not peculiar to Christianity, much less to the peace sects.

The doctrine of the state was expressed negatively by the apostolic writers, the Anabaptists and all the German peace sects. Its positive aspect of Christian politics is the peculiar contribution of the Quakers, partly in theory, but more especially in practice.

The testimony against war, even in its negative form, has not been made by Confucianism, Tâoism, Buddhism, Stoicism, or the principal churches, either Roman Catholic or Protestant. It is the distinctive contribution of the apostolic church and the Christian peace sects, all of whom confined themselves to its negative aspect. Its positive side of peace and arbitration has been fostered chiefly by Quakerism, seconded, especially during the last century, by the general growth of humanitarian sentiment and international solidarity.

It thus appears that the significance of the Society of Friends in the history of passive resistance lies in their political activities and their public service along the line of peace and arbitration. To these two aspects this sketch will be confined. In connection with the same, an effort will be made to complete the history of the German

peace sects whose European career has been previously outlined. They came to Pennsylvania under the urgent invitation of William Penn, and were not found in large numbers in any other colony. Their substantial contributions to the life of Penn's colony, as well as those of Germans who were not non-resistants, have been shown, of recent years, by the able historians of the Pennsylvania-German Society. Not the least of their services was the loyal support which, in so far as their anti-political principles allowed, these peace sects gave to the efforts of the Quakers to conduct the government along non-resistant lines.

The Friends arose in England during the troubled times of the Stuarts, and, according as Puritanism or Anglicanism triumphed, so their fortunes varied. But it was a time when men's political aspirations were stirring, as well as their religious yearnings. This combination of religion and politics in the social mind probably had much to do with producing the Quaker type. At any rate it gave them a superb opportunity, which they were not slow to seize.

Like all non-resistants, the Friends refused to take the judicial oath, and this was used as a ground for commitment to prison many a time when no other charge could be substantiated. Their conscientious scruples were not at first understood, and refusal to swear allegiance, in those troublous times of civil strife and plotting, was a grave offense. The same difficulty was met in America in Revolutionary days, and had been experienced by other non-resistants in Europe long before the Quakers arose. The other peace sects in America suffered, of course, in the same way.

Furthermore, like all the other peace sects, the Quaker refused to train for the militia or to go to war, which again brought the charge of disloyalty. To these offenses, common to all the non-resistants, the

Friends added their peculiar obstinacy in the refusal to remove the hat before dignitaries or to address their social superiors with the plural pronoun. Both these were meant as a repudiation of the man-worshipping and obsequious customs of an aristocratic social order, and were the means by which the Quaker unfurled everywhere the flag of an uncompromising democracy¹ and sincerity. These noble sentiments were sometimes expressed in a cantankerous way that irritated and mystified the victim of the supposed impertinence and also ^{the} unsympathetic beholder. If now there be coupled with all this the radical simplicity of the Quaker theology and their absolutely unbending devotion to their meetings for worship, despite the Conventicle laws which forbade such assemblages, it is easy to understand that there was soon a fight going, all along the line of Quakerdom.

For years the foul and death-dealing prisons of England were filled with hundreds of Quakers whose sufferings for Truth, as they expressed it, would fill a library. Besse's "Sufferings of the Quakers", a work in two immense volumes, filled from cover to cover with a remarkable detailed account of the hardships endured throughout England, was published in 1753.

This brings us to a remarkable Quaker trait, viz., their feeling that all these bitter experiences were fraught with some kind of historical significance, and that the preservation of an accurate account was a matter of the utmost importance. The evidence is very full on this point, but it must be dismissed for the present. It is allied, however, to another trait which must be noted here, and that is the sense of a public or political mission already referred to. To take only a

¹ For the contribution of the Society of Friends to democracy see Bancroft, "History of the United States," Vol. II., ch. XVI.; and Mc Laughlin, "A History of the American Nation," p. 109.

few instances, when it was realized that the denial by government of the right of assembly could not be maintained except by actually exterminating the Quakers, there was nothing to do but to yield. But the right of exemption from the tithes to the established church "was won only by a long hard fight, but when it was won it was won for every body. But they did not stop with passive resistance to the tithe system. They laboured for three quarters of a century by every method known to their intelligence, or 'revealed to the mind of Truth' to get the tyranny abolished by statute." And again, "as fast as they won their freedom they took up the fight on behalf of other peoples who were oppressed and hampered, and they proved to be good leaders of what seemed at the time 'lost causes' and 'forlorn hopes.'" In Maryland, in 1681, "Lord Baltimore announced to both houses that 'moved by the frequent clamours of the Quakers,¹ he was resolved henceforth to publish to the people the Proceedings of all the Assemblies."²

But perhaps the best illustration of the Quaker fight for English rights is to be found in a quaint work published in London in 1670. The title runs, "The peoples ancient and just liberties asserted in the trial of William Penn and William Mead, at the session held at Old-Baily in London, &c." This little product of Quaker passive resistance describes in great detail the outrageous bullying of the Court, which was composed of the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen of London, and records the fearless and very able defense of Penn and Mead, who acted as their own attorneys. The prisoners were indicted under the charge of having "unlawfully and tumultuously assembled with Force and Arms." The evidence showed simply that Penn had been preaching to an assemblage in the street near the Meeting House, from which the Quakers had

¹ Italics mine.

² Jones: "The Quakers in the American Colonies," pp. 153, 167, and 333.

been debarred by officers of the law. While they were thus peaceably engaged soldiers rushed upon and dispersed them, then trumped up the preposterous charge named in the indictment.

The defendants appealed to English charters and the Common Law, with an amazing knowledge of legal principles that probably not only mystified the learned Court, but also irritated it.

The twelve "good men and true" were not so affected however, and brought in a verdict to the effect that they found William Penn guilty of preaching in the street, and Mead not guilty of the same. The Court promptly returned them to their cell without food, heat or decent conveniences. For three days this continued, the Court brow-beating, and raging incredibly at both defendants and jurymen. Penn and Mead exhorted them to stand firm for the liberty and rights of Englishmen, and the sturdy commoners stood true. The Court was simply forced to accept the unique verdict and the prisoners went free, but not until the Recorder had declared himself in favor of a Spanish Inquisition in England for such fellows!

The important thing for the present account is that Friends were not content to come off free from the charge of riotous assemblage. They took up the battle for the threatened liberties of the English people and spread the account of the trial before the public. The document contains also "A Rehersal of the Material Parts of the Great Charter of England," the "Confirmation of the Charters and Liberties" of Edward I., and the "Sentence of the Clergy against the Breakers of the Articles above-mentioned," along with considerable other material designed to arouse the English people to their endangered rights, affirming, in the introduction, that there cannot "be any business wherein the People of England are more concerned than in that which relates

to their Civil and Religious Liberties." This is an excellent example among numerous instances, of the kind of reaction toward aggression which is included under the term "passive resistance" as used in this essay. As before indicated, the term is unsatisfactory, but perhaps the best available in the light of usage and custom. As has been said before, moral resistance may be substituted if the reader prefers it. The essential point is that it is not non-resistance. It does more than seek to triumph by passively suffering. It comes back to the fight and takes the aggressive, but always abhors the use of brute force in moral conflicts.

A special student of this phase of Quakerism says: "The protest of the Quakers against their arbitrary taxation by the Duke of York, in 1680, includes most of the arguments used by the Americans in 1776 against 'taxation without representation' and is an early Quaker movement in favor of independence, nearly a century in advance of the event."¹

The accession of William Penn lent to Quakerism that public turn which has contributed so much to give the Friends their unique place in the history of passive resistance. All the world knows that young Penn received the princely territory of Pennsylvania in payment of a debt due his father, Admiral Penn, from the Crown. Penn was a man of the loftiest character, high culture, and exceptional ability. The acquisition of Pennsylvania gave him the opportunity to found a state upon the principles of passive resistance and peace, and to express his own high ideals in a civil body politic. Here he incorporated in the fundamental laws and the policy of the colony, especially toward the Indians, the principles of toleration, democracy, and fair-play. His policy with the natives was singularly successful, but since it will be dis-

¹ "The Quaker in the Forum," by Amelia Mott Gummere, p. 145.

cussed more fully in a later chapter, it may pass with bare mention in this connection.

The Friends filled most of the offices in Pennsylvania for a period of sixty years. They dominated the legislature, by the voluntary suffrages of their fellow-citizens, and withdrew from it only when their non-resistant policy forbade them to meet the military exigencies of the French and Indian wars. In all their governmental efforts in Pennsylvania, they received the sympathy and support of the various peace sects who have been mentioned above as emigrants to Pennsylvania.

The founding of Germantown affords an excellent opportunity to observe the Quakers and Mennonites in close contrast, the latter as the typical non-political, the former as the typical political passive resistant sect. Smith's account¹ is so suggestive that it is quoted in full. Speaking of the incorporation of Germantown, (1680-1691) he says: "It is one of the few times that the Mennonites of America had the opportunity to test the feasibility of non-resistant principles when applied to the establishing of a civil government. Here we have a group of men, all of whom inherit the Mennonite prejudice against the holding of civil office and the use of physical force in any form whatever when applied to government; they ask for separate incorporation which implies the establishing of a complete list of civil officers, the machinery for the making of laws, and the courts for executing them. Theory and practice were completely inconsistent with one another, and it was inevitable that an attempt to harmonize the two should end in failure." The Germantown government died a lingering death, "until finally absorbed by the city of Philadelphia.

"The loss of the charter was due largely to the fact that the

¹ In his "Mennonites of America," p. 123 ff.

Mennonites had very little taste for civil government. At first so long as the matter of local government was hardly more than the regulating of the family affairs of the brotherhood there seemed to be little objection to the holding of office. Out of eleven of the first officers named in the charter six and probably seven were Mennonites and four of the remaining five were Mennonite-Quakers. But the village grew in numbers. Many came who were not in sympathy with Mennonite ideals. The making of laws and the administration of justice became more complicated. With the coming in of stocks and prison-houses the Mennonites lost their desire for politics. The offices were filled more and more by either Mennonite-Quakers, or by the Quakers, who seem never to have shared the prejudice of the Mennonites against the holding of civil office."

The Quaker regime in Pennsylvania proved a success in times of peace, but when the troubles with the French on the Indian frontier demanded military measures for the defense of the colonists, it went to pieces. The merits of the case will be discussed in a later chapter. The purpose here is simply to record the facts. The numerous Friends in the legislature came to feel their position untenable, especially as they were advised by London Friends, in England, to retire from the political field. Says Jones:¹ in 1756 "the Governor and Council declared war, bounties were offered for scalps of the male and female Indians, and the Quaker legislators resigned." But the Quakers found it exceedingly difficult to lay down their political power. They no longer held office, but "their opponents said that they still controlled the government through 'Quakerised' Episcopalians and Presbyterians."² The Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia, seconded by the local meetings, thence-

¹ Op.cit., p.503.

² Ibid., p.493.

forth urged upon the membership non-participation in politics, aside from voting and perhaps holding the local offices. A very similar movement occurred in Maryland and North Carolina. In the latter state it was proposed, in the Yearly Meeting of 1809 that Friends holding offices which involved the judicial oath or punishment of crime should be disowned, and a similar situation occurred in Virginia.¹ In Maryland, "Friends in the eighteenth century contented themselves with sending petitions to the legislature instead of sending members to it."²

The American Revolution brought on most trying times, and accelerated the Quaker reaction against political life. The Friends sympathized with the American cause, but their pacific principles forbade them to take sides. As the North Carolina Quakers expressed it, they could not "consistently take any test while things remain unsettled and still to be determined by militia force."³ There had always been an element in the Society who believed in defensive warfare. James Logan, who came over with Penn as secretary of the colony and retained the position for a lifetime, taught and practiced that doctrine. The trying times of the war led to a division, followed by the organization of the war party into the "Free Quakers" of Philadelphia. Their career was very brief, for the new society soon died out. The original body, on the contrary, received a new impetus. The period following the war was one of rapid expansion in the membership of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

Simultaneously with their retirement from politics and their increase of membership, the now unified Society began to take on that extraordinary zeal for moral causes which has marked Quakerism for a

¹"Southern Quakers and Slavery"; by Stephen B. Weeks, pp. 117-118.
²Jones, op.cit., p. 334. ³Weeks, ibid., p. 192.

hundred years. "The work of Friends by common consent was to be philanthropic only, so far as it touched the outside world, but mainly it was to be given to strengthen the body in its own principles and testimonies." The Friends had long felt that the principles of peace were at stake in Pennsylvania. They had felt, throughout the rank and file of the Society, a deep sense of responsibility for the government founded, by their great leader, on the principles of passive resistance. They had long been the honored and powerful directors of the State. Now they were hooted at, despised, and their policy discredited. President Sharpless¹ eloquently observes: "They simply drew together as the world turned against them, more certain of their ground, more determined to maintain it at any cost of suffering and popularity. If all around had conspired, as it seemed, to annul Penn's Holy Experiment, they would renew it, not externally, that appeared hopeless, but in the hearts of a devoted band."

Much of this story of Pennsylvania is familiar knowledge, but it is not so well known that the Friends were governors of Rhode Island for the good part of a century, and that they gave the great Governor Archdale to North Carolina. Their work as rulers of Rhode Island will be referred to in later chapters, so it will be sufficient to remark here that their policy there did not meet the sorrowful end that befell the Pennsylvania experiment. The Rhode Island Quakers were staunch peace men but they distinguished between their public and their private duties. The result was some very interesting situations from the point of view of passive resistance.

The Quakers were very early settlers in New York Colony, partic-

¹ In Jones, op.cit.; the chapters on Pennsylvania are written Isaac Sharpless. cf. p. 579.

ularly upon Long Island. Here they came in conflict with the authorities, who referred to them rather plainly as "that abominable sect who treat with contempt both the political magistrates and the ministers of God's holy Word, and endeavor to undermine the police and religion."¹ Some of the best examples of victory through passive resistance occur in the history of Long Island Friends. In the end they brought upon the arrogant Governor a rebuke from the liberty-loving Dutch Directors of the Colony, and "a proclamation of the principle of complete religious toleration: 'The consciences of men ought to remain free and untrammelled.'"² The people at large were sympathetic, a jury refused to return a true bill, and Friends took root in New York, where they abide to the present day.

The language of the New York authorities, above quoted, will serve to represent the general attitude of the civil power toward the Quakers. These people who were so bent on building the State upon an enduring foundation of Truth and Right, were everywhere received and branded as "turbulant," "attempting to destroy religion, laws, communities, and all bonds of civil society."³ They were regarded then precisely as revolutionary anarchists are today.

Nowhere was this more true than in New England. The stern Puritan legalist, who prayed with one hand on the Bible, particularly the Levitical Code, and the other on the sword, could not abide the thought of these "Antinomian" enemies of public order. Nor could their doctrine of peace appeal to the granite men of the old Massachusetts Bay Colony. Yet the Quakers felt that they had a special mission to these men of the Old Covenant, and they persisted in carrying their message

¹ Jones, *op.cit.*, p.227.

² *Ibid.*, p.228.

³ From the Virginia Act of 1659, quoted by Weeks, *op.cit.*, p.17.

into the very jaws of death. The result was martyrdom, not less desired by the Quakers, to say the least, than by the Puritans themselves. They had rushed into their persecuting program because they were scared into a perfect panic when they heard that those who were turning the world upside down had come to Boston also. When the Quakers came on undaunted the Puritans had either to recede or push on to the bitter end. We shall have occasion later to discuss the psychological aspects of that historic contest.

The German Peace Sects in America.

In every case the sects previously sketched were left at the point where they turned their backs upon the cruel persecutions of the Old World, and set their faces toward America and the Wilderness. The Moravians planted a colony in Georgia and another in Pennsylvania. All the others, Mennonites, Schwenkfelders and Dunkers, were practically confined to Pennsylvania, until they spread westward, following the usually traveled routes of the frontier movement. During their early years they were settled at Germantown and to the west and north-west from that point. It is the purpose in this section to mention very briefly their part in the history of passive resistance in the United States.

The Mennonites have been mentioned frequently already. Their testimony against participation in government has been sounded forth on various occasions. John Herr, a Mennonite reformer of about 1812, adduces, as a principal evidence of the corrupt and backslidden condition of the church, their sitting on the "seat of judgment," and his successor, Daniel Musser, deploras their attendance upon elections and practice of electioneering. They also were declared to be guilty of using the courts of law to defend their rights. All these Jeremiads, while probably exaggerated, indicate a tendency on the part of the rank and file to relax their original Anabaptist position. Along with the Friends and others, they suffered for their testimony during the Revo-

lutionary and Civil wars. At a convention in 1776, "Most of the Mennonites who were present took the position that since they were a defenseless people and could neither institute nor destroy any government, they could not interfere in tearing themselves away from the King."¹ During the Revolution they made contributions to the American cause in the form of money and supplies. The Quakers held this to be practically a surrender of the peace principle. Smith thinks "the Mennonites were less consistent. While they would not carry weapons themselves, they appear generally not to have objected to supporting the cause by their means."² During the Civil War they assisted the Friends in the effort to obtain relief from the draft. It is interesting to note that their departure from their testimony against political participation enabled them to sustain their opposition to war, for by their solid Republican votes they had proved to be a valuable constituency to Congressman Thaddeus Stevens, and he helped to put the exemption bill through Congress largely for their sake.³

The Dunkers made a similar testimony, and suffered for their faithfulness to non-resistant principles. Falkenstein⁴ calculates that the little company who came to Pennsylvania in 1720 had traveled, in the aggregate, more than sixty thousand miles, in fleeing from persecution. They settled among the Quakers and Mennonites, but Falkner, one of their number, complains of "the melancholy, saturnine Quaker spirit" that prevailed in the province in those days.⁵ Christopher Sauer, the Germantown printer, "allowed himself to be despoiled of all his property, which was considerable for that day, and be dubbed a traitor *** because he could not take the oath of allegiance to the new state of

¹ Smith, op.cit., p.259.
⁴ Op.cit., p.35.

² Ibid., 380.
⁵ Ibid., p.730.

³ Ibid., 378.

Pennsylvania at the close of the Revolutionary War. It was not because he was opposed to the state, or because he was a Tory at heart, but because he was conscientiously opposed to taking an oath."¹ The Dunkers have refrained from voting and from holding civil office, and their members are discouraged from using the courts of law, but in all these things there is a tendency, especially among the younger members, to do as the world does, and the same is true of the Mennonites and all the other exclusive sects.

The Schwenkfelders emigrated in 1734, and therefore arrived some years later than the Quakers, Mennonites and Dunkers. Consequently they found the land largely settled and were unable to secure a continuous tract large enough to permit them to form a distinct settlement. They were compelled to scatter more or less among the other German sectarians, and this fact, coupled with their former close relations with Zinzendorf and the Moravians, was partly the cause of their difficulty in forming a church organization. But it also saved them from the perils of the frontier during the Indian wars.

It will be recalled that they had been unable to find a resting place in Europe. Therefore the following remarkable state paper, which was brought to them in 1742, is exceedingly interesting. "We have *** most graciously resolved that the so-called Schwenkfelders, who were exiled through an imprudent zeal for Religion, to the irreparable damage of commerce and of the country, be recalled into our Sovereign Duchy of Lower Silesia." Their historian, Kriebel, from whom the above is taken, remarks that "though they were thus highly flattered and honored by Frederick the Great, they merely acknowledged the invitation with thanks and to a man clung to their newly adopted country that they had come

¹ Gillin, op.cit., p.207.

to love so well."¹

In the matter of participation in government the Schwenkfelders went with the Quakers rather than the Mennonites and Dunkers. "They did not strive for public office, since they preferred the freedom of private life; neither did they in general refuse to serve when called upon."² The more public spirited of them, such as David Schultz, did not deem it too much trouble to go forty miles to vote at a Provincial election. They, like the Quakers and all true peace sects, were averse to the use of courts of law, but Kriebel says "they were ready even thus to maintain their rights if need be."³

Kriebel's account of their war policy is quite full and explicit and may be summed up as follows: the Schwenkfelders shared in all the burdens of the wars except the actual bearing of arms. On this point they issued, in 1777, "A Candid Declaration of Some So-Called Schwenkfelders Concerning Present Militia Affairs." In this statement they "confess and declare that for conscience' sake it is impossible for us to take up arms and kill our fellow men." They further declared that they would "gladly and willingly" share the taxes and all common civil burdens. In the earlier French and Indian troubles of 1756, David Shultz, the noted Schwenkfelder surveyer, served as one of the trustees of the money raised to put into the field "The Maxatawny and Alleman-gle Independent Guard." No Schwenkfelder in good and regular standing took up arms in any American war, but, on the other hand, "no Schwenkfelder ever refused to pay the fines imposed for non-performance of military service."⁴ No Schwenkfelder was ever suspected of disloyalty. When during the Revolutionary disputes, the Legislature of Pennsylvania said, concerning the British attempt to force American submission, "In

¹ Op.cit., pp.53-54.
² Ibid., p.172.

² Ibid., p.140
⁴ Ibid., p.160.

such a situation we hold it our indispensable duty to resist such force, and at every hazard to defend the rights and liberties of America," the Schwenkfelder members, Schultz and Wagner, voted for the resolutions. In this action they "undoubtedly represented," says Kriebel, "the mind of the Schwenkfelders in general on the issues at stake."¹

It thus appears that the Schwenkfelders were not so logically consistent in their war record as were the other peace sects. Yet their sacrifices for the sake of patriotism did not shield them from the hostile aggressions of the militant populace, but on the whole, "less hardship befell them than most other non-combatants."²

On the whole the Schwenkfelders displayed an activity in public affairs similar to that of the Quakers. Their voting and holding of civil office has been described. They actively supported "The Friendly Association for regaining and preserving peace with the Indians by pacific measures," which the Quakers had inaugurated immediately after their voluntary retirement from the legislature in 1756. The Schwenkfelders formed a similar union among themselves. They subscribed a considerable fund, and their representatives attended the Indian treaty at Easton. Moreover, they discussed, officially, the question, "Why should citizens attend the treaties with the Indians?" taking a strong position in this, as in other matters, in favor of a policy of general welfare founded on square and honest dealing with the redman. In all their efforts to meet the requirements of loyal citizenship, during those trying times, they tried to manifest the true principles of passive resistance. "They believed in following the 'Golden Rule' even in the management of the civil affairs of life. They believed that the spirit directing and moulding the conduct of men towards their fellows should be the spirit of intercession, edification, service, peace, patience, for-

¹ Ibid., p. 150

² Ibid., p. 160.

giveness, humility, kindness, truthfulness and justice."¹

The Moravians, it will be remembered, were a missionary organization rather than a church during their early days in America. They planted a large mission in Georgia, but later transferred their principal work to Pennsylvania. Here they devoted themselves to the conversion of the Indians. They established two missions called Gnadenhütten, which may easily be confused, inasmuch as events of importance occurred at both places during the French and Indian wars. The terrible massacre of non-resistant Indians by blood-thirsty whites occurred at Gnadenhütten on the Tuscarawas, and will be discussed in a later chapter. It was at Gnadenhütten on the Mahoning that events occurred which set forth with utmost clearness the principles of the Moravians, which were those of non-resistance, modified by the practice, and theoretical justification, of defensive war. Perhaps no better example of self-defense reduced to its lowest terms, i.e., without the least infusion of bitterness or hostile counter-aggression, can be found. Therefore the affair at Gnadenhütten on the Mahoning will be described with some fullness, following the account of Moravian historians.²

When the storm of war threatened to burst upon the Pennsylvania frontier, the Moravian settlements at Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Gnadenhütten, assumed, very reluctantly, a strictly defensive attitude. They built stockades in the most exposed positions, with watch-towers, where they maintained a vigilant watch night and day. Their idea in this was that by so doing they might render unnecessary the repelling of an attack from the lurking and observant foe. At the same time they sought to

¹ Ibid., pp. 148 and 149.

² "Memorials of the Moravian Church." (1870). Vol. I.; and "A History of the Unitas Fratrum, or Moravian Church, in the United States," by J. Taylor Hamilton. Vol. VIII. in "The American Church History Series."

place their dependence upon Divine protection, and prayed constantly that the enemy might be seized with a trembling of heart and kept a great way off. But on the evening of the 24th. of November, 1755, the Indians fell upon the mission at Gnadenhütten and only four out of the fifteen persons escaped.

At this juncture some of the more belligerent friends of the Mission sent to them, from New York, a supply of arms and ammunition, "bidding the Brethren to take them, go forth, and fight the Indians."¹ Bishop Spangenberg, who was, after Zinzendorf, their greatest leader, felt called to make an exposition, in which he sets forth very explicitly the Moravian position on the State and constabulary, as well as on war. He says, in part: "We are of opinion that governments ought to protect their subjects. Rulers are servants of God, and the sword is given them by a Superior Power, who is King of Kings and Lord of Lords. This sword given them they hold not in vain, but they are to protect the weaker ones and save the innocent. It is not only permitted unto them to oppose and punish all such as will hurt, kill, steal, etc., but it is their duty to do so, and if they neglect this their office they will be answerable for it to their Master."

He proceeds next to differentiate between the clergy and the laity, and in so doing reveals the churchly leanings of the Moravian movement, and its fundamentally different character from the other peace sects, all of whom held one and the same standard for all. Spangenberg says, "a minister of the Gospel is a sheep sent among wolves, who is to be prudent like a servant and harmless like a dove. His arms are not carnal but spiritual, and he conquers by no other weapons than by the blood of the Lamb, by the sword of the Gospel, by faith in Christ,

¹ "Memorials," p. 204.

by prayers and tears. If one smites him on the right cheek he is to turn to him the other also *** Confer Matthew V:38,39. Such an one if he would handle weapons becoming a soldier,would show his ignorance of his commission."

But,on the other hand,"a common man such as they call a layman, if he have wife and children,is to provide for his family and to protect them against mischief.*** It would be wrong in him ~~it would be wrong-in him~~ if wicked wretches should fall upon his children and he be indolent and patient at the murdering of them." He then explains that the watchmen had been actuated by these motives in shaping their conduct,as follows. After taking up a vigilant watch,as remarked above,"the watchmen then proposed whether it would not be good to have some guns,partly to signal to the rest of the guard,partly to hinder the cruel enemy from falling upon the Sisters and Children,and using them after their abominable manner. They said,'What shall we do? If the savages would be satisfied with taking our lives it might be so; but shall we leave our sisters and our children to their devilish designs?' I could not say,'Let the savages do what they please with our sisters and our children.' No indeed! For how could a father or a husband do so and not think himself guilty of neglecting his duty. But this I have told my Brethren,'Pray rather to God that he may send fear and trembling upon the enemy and thereby keep him a great way from us."¹

This justification of preparations for defensive war Spangenberg further expresses in a letter of the same date to the Justices of the County of Northampton,wherein he points out the superior advantages of Gnadenhütten for defensive operations,and says that "if the Government should think well to build there a fort,we will give of the land

¹ "Memorials," p.204.ff.

we have there, ten acres, for that purpose, in a place which can command the Lehigh and a great way on all sides."¹

Before dismissing this subject it should be made clear that the Moravian position was actually one of defense only, and one of the very rare cases of the same, since most so-called defensive warfare is simply one phase of a general policy of hostile aggression, and usually passes into aggressive military operations. After the massacre they "restrained the (Indian) converts from attempting reprisals, counseling them to flee instead. For more than a year the refugee 'brown hearts' were harbored at Bethlehem."²

The Brethren immediately notified the government of this transfer of their mission, and transmitted the appeal of the Moravian Indians for protection by the Colony. The request of the pacific Indians was granted, and the Moravian "Brethren were requested to care for them and all other Indians who should come in professing friendship. This later included a great number of the belligerent Indians who were on their way to Easton to negotiate peace. The Brethren entertained these slayers of their friends for two years, 1756-1758, and were reimbursed in part, according to agreement. No fighting was found necessary on the part of the Brethren."³ This gentle forbearance was in line with their historic policy. They have always been recognized as opposed to war, and when, in 1749, the English Parliament recognized legally the Moravian Church, it granted them certain concessions in Britain and the colonies, and among these were "relief from bearing arms and from taking judicial oaths."⁴

The Communistic Non-Resistants

Various ascetic, communistic sects have shown a natural affinity

¹ Ibid., p. 208.
² "Memorials," *ibid.*

³ Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 461.
⁴ Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 459.

for the doctrine of non-resistance in its strictly negative form. They have repudiated civil government and have retired from the world, but they do not contribute much to the solution of this great problem, which, as has abundantly appeared, is inextricably bound up with the very nature and existence of the state and the social order. Such sectarians hold the doctrine of non-resistance because of their "apostolic" simplicity of life and their general pacific disposition. But the perplexing questions of magistracy and war are very remote from their lives.

The Shakers are typical of this class. They hold that marriage is an institution inimical to true spirituality, and live apart in quiet ascetic "Families" of celibate "Brothers" and "Sisters". Their absolute non-participation in political affairs is well expressed in their petition to the President of the United States during the Civil War, in which they seek exemption from the draft. They aver that "this favor is asked of the Government for the following considerations:- That non-resistance and non-participation in the affairs of earthly governments are primary and fundamental articles of the religious faith of the Shaker societies.*** No Shaker has ever trained, voted or been voted for, or held any office of honor, trust or emolument (except Postmaster) under the Civil Government, or participated in politics."¹ The Shakers originated in the Eighteenth century in England, with the preaching of Mother Ann Lee, and, after considerable persecution among the hostile populace there, they came to America in 1774, and founded their first communities, a few years later, at Watervliet and New Leba-

¹ "Shakerism; Its Meaning and Message" by Anna White and Leila S. Taylor. The little story, "Susanna and Sue," by Kate Douglas Wiggin, gives a pleasing picture revealing the purity, peace, and gentleness of the Shaker communities, as well as their ascetic philosophy.

non in the state of New York. Since that time they have spread westward, and maintain "Families" in various states. "They have suffered in person and property and even been imprisoned for their non-military testimony."¹

The Inspirationists of Amana in Iowa, are a direct outgrowth of the great German Anabaptist movement of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries. "Its rise was one of the numerous protests against the dogmatism and formality that had grown up in the Lutheran Church."² Shambaugh traces this particular sect back to John Philip Spener and "the early Mystics and Pietists -- particularly of that little branch of the Pietists which arose during the last quarter of the seventeenth century and whose followers are said to have 'prophesied like the prophets of old' and were called the 'Inspirationists.'" The peculiar theological tenet of the Inspirationists is their absolute dependance for guidance in their affairs upon the revelations received by their "Instruments" (Werkzeuge), and which they accept as divinely authorized. It is therefore a modified mysticism, that is to say, the direct access to the Divine Mind is supposed to be limited to a few chosen instruments, rather than taught as the privilege of every Christian, as in the case of the Quakers. The Inspirationists were like the Spiritual Reformers and the Quakers in their belief that God "will lead His people to-day by the words of His Inspiration if they but listen to His voice,"³ but vastly different from them in their traditional spirit and the absolute subordination of the mass of the membership.

But the important thing for this sketch is the fact that "their cause soon encountered the opposition of the government, for the Inspi-

¹ Ibid., p. 182.

² "Amana, the Community of True Inspiration," by Bertha M. H. Shambaugh, p. 21.

³ Ibid., P. 22.

rationists declined to perform military duty or to take the legal oath. 'We cannot,' they said, 'serve the state as soldiers, because a Christian cannot murder his enemy, much less his friend.'¹ The Inspirationists were driven about by persecution, just as were all the kindred peace sects. Their history begins with the writings and teachings of Everhard Ludwig Gruber and Johann Friedrich Rock in 1714. After the death of the early leaders there was a period of eclipse, but the movement lived and was revived a century later. Then their conflict with government broke out again. Although the age of bloody persecution had passed away, they suffered greatly for their peace principles, and their refusal to send their children to the state schools. Under these hardships they drifted naturally into a purely Christian communism, founded on mutual helpfulness rather than any theory of social equality, and they have maintained it to the present day, though on a vastly enlarged scale. Emigrating to America, they settled on the old Seneca Indian Reservation near Buffalo, New York, in 1843, but later removed to Iowa and founded in 1855 the now celebrated Amana community, which still flourishes vigorously.

The following passages will serve to indicate the root of their non-resistant principles, viz., the cultivation of a tranquil and benevolent state of mind, and personal salvation by an ascetic withdrawal from the "World". The following precepts were prepared in 1715 by Gruber, in his "Twenty-one Rules for the Examination of Our Daily Lives," and form the ideal standard of the Inspirationists to this day.²

"v. Abandon self, with all its desires, knowledge and power.

VII. Do not disturb your serenity or peace of mind — hence neither desire nor grieve.

¹ Ibid., p. 28.

² Ibid., pp. 277-279.

VIII. Live in love and pity toward your neighbor, and indulge neither anger nor impatience in your spirit.

XVI. Have no intercourse with worldly-minded men; never seek their society; speak little with them, and never without need; and then not without fear and trembling."

The Inspirationists and the Shakers, together with the Ephrata Communists (Pennsylvania) who were an offshoot from the Dunkers, and the Separatists of Zoar (Ohio), present the most successful examples of communism in history,¹ and they all rested on distinct non-resistant principles. Yet these two things are not cause and effect, as might at first appear. They are to be explained by a single cause in which both peace and stability were rooted. That was the attempt of the Inspirationists to reproduce the spirit and practice of the apostolic days.

The Doukhobors.

The Doukhobors are the only non-Teutonic modern peace sect to be described, with the exception of the Camisards of France.² The Doukhobors are Russian Slavs, and mystics, their name signifying "Spirit

¹ See Hinds, "American Communities."

² The Camisards came into prominence in France at the time of the Revolution. They were found chiefly in the Cevennes, at Congénies, but also in Languedoc. An English Quaker named Fox owned two luggers which, contrary to his protests, were converted into privateers during the war between France and England. The Quaker received 1500 pounds as his share of the prizes. Investing this, "he advertised in the Gazette de France for the owners of the captured vessels. This account came to the body of Camisards, descendants of the original Huguenots, who held similar views upon war, and were greatly impressed by the action of Friend Fox. Through this incident, the whole French Community of Camisards at Congénies became Quakers." See the account in Gummere's "The Quaker in the Forum," pp. 259-270, from which the above quotation is taken. The account contains the petition of the French Quakers (including Americans who had settled at Dunkirk to revive the French fisheries) presented to the National Assembly, and also the remarkable adverse reply of Mirabeau, February 10, 1791.

"restlers." They are partly communistic in their economic arrangements but have always maintained separate family life.¹ Doukhobor history runs back into the Eighteenth century, but it is only in quite recent times that they have come into notice. Within the last decade or two the story of their heroic conflict with the Russian government over military conscription became known largely through the efforts of Count Tolstoy and his followers. Aylmer Maude, a former disciple of Tolstoy in England, has given a thorough account² of their origins in the past and the political aspects of their philosophy. The Philadelphia Friends assisted the Tolstoyans in bringing these persecuted peasants to Canada in 1899, and one of these Quakers, Joseph Elkinton, has written, from first hand knowledge³, about their doings in Canada.

Their significance for the history of passive resistance has special application to its modern aspects of the militaristic State and the philosophy of government. As Maude pointedly observes, "Their doctrine that men gifted with reason and conscience should not use physical violence one to another, but should influence one another by the appeal of mind to mind and of soul to soul, is essentially anarchistic (in the best sense of that word), and it is naturally disliked by all authorities whose reliance is on sword or truncheon."⁴

When the Doukhobor troubles first came into notice they were situated in the Caucasus region of south-eastern Russia. But they had been transported thither as early as 1826, and had been fighting an intermittent war against military draft for a great many years. Their

¹ The Inspirationists of Amana have preserved the family life also.

² In his work "A Peculiar People; The Doukhobors." 1904.

³ "The Doukhobors: their history in Russia, their migration to Canada," by Joseph Elkinton. 1903.

⁴ Op.cit., p.22.

former home was in the region known as The Milky Waters, in the Crimea, Southern Russia. They have always been subject to fanatical excesses, and it would seem to be partly because of such doings that they were expelled from the Milky Waters to Transcaucasia, in 1839.¹

The English Quakers had known of the Doukhobors, and occasionally visited them, during a large part of the Nineteenth century.² There was much of the general spirit of George Fox in their attitude, but in two respects at least they found no sympathy from the Friends. The Quakers could not share their views on communism or on civil government. The Quaker has always been intensely individualistic and has the English predilection for politics and constitutional government. But the Doukhobors, like the Anabaptists, Mennonites, and Dunkers, have no place for civil government in their system of ethics. Perhaps this is inevitable in view of what they have endured under the Russian despotism. But these Russian sectarians seem to go beyond mere non-participation, and would deny the validity of government and the State. It is an evil in itself.³ In their later years the Doukhobors have been strongly influenced by the views of Count Tolstoy. This infusion of that great Christian anarchist's spirit reached the ignorant peasant Doukhobors only at second hand, of course, and they were totally ignorant of its origin. It came about as follows.

Their leader, Peter Verigin, to whom, as an inspired prophet, they yield absolute and unquestioning obedience, was approaching the end of fifteen years in Siberia when some of Count Tolstoy's writings fell into his hands. The Doukhobors had not always kept up their testimony

¹ Elkinton, op.cit., p.262.

² Stephen Grellet visited them, in company with William Allen, in 1819.

³ Elkinton, op.cit., p.253.

Maude, op.cit., p.113.

against war with unswerving faithfulness. Government enactments show that in 1834 they were allowed by law to provide Mohammedan substitutes, and they still had similar privileges in 1839;¹ yet in the main they had put up a marvellous resistance to the military encroachments of the government. Again and again in their history, cases of collective refusal of military service had occurred.²

However it might have been if things had taken their own course, Peter Verigin's reading of Count Tolstoy was shortly followed by a secret message from Siberia to his followers to resist the draft, and the command was obeyed with heroic firmness. It was as the result of the cruel oppressions that followed this bold stand that the Tolstoyans and Quakers came to the relief of the persecuted sect in 1898.

Since their settlement in Canada (January, 1899) they have given way to fanatical tendencies, the most striking of which was the pilgrimage made by a great company of people, without provisions, across the wintry Canadian plains to meet the Lord on his Second Coming, which they believed to be immediately at hand. The Canadian authorities have used the utmost consideration toward these rather obstinate and troublesome subjects, who simply cannot comprehend how any governmental act can be actuated by anything but sinister motives of exploitation or persecution, — a most eloquent and richly merited tribute to the Russian autocracy! But on this occasion it was deemed necessary to coerce the wanderers in order to save them from self-destruction through their own fanaticism. In so doing an amusing example of non-resistance was given by the Dukhobors, as narrated by Maude: "At Minnedosa a spe-

¹ Ibid., pp. 144-145. Maude says, p. 155, that during their later and more prosperous years in The Milky Waters "they made no objection to conscription, and were in very good repute with the Russian authorities".
² Ibid., p. 167.

cial train pulled up, and after a stubborn struggle -- in which many Doukhobors locked themselves arm-in-arm and showed all the passive resistance a sturdy body of men, resolved not to use aggressive violence, could offer -- they were bundled into the cars by the police, or induced by less violent means to enter, and were sent back to Yorktown."

The non-resistant principles of the Doukhobors are drawn directly from their effort to reproduce the life and spirit of the early Christian communities. This spirit may be shown by an extract from a letter to Joseph Elkinton from Doukhobors in Elisavetpol prison, in 1896. "A true Christian cannot make war and shed the blood of his brother, but on the contrary, he loves him more than himself. For this our brethren are dispersed in painful and distant exile, in order to prevent the spreading of the knowledge of the truth, and of the teaching of Jesus Christ.***

"Dear Friend, they know not what they do. They think that by such unreasonable, selfwilled, unmerciful tortures they please God. Forgive us, Lord! us sinners and our persecutors! Turn them away, Lord, from the ways of iniquity, and teach them the way of truth!" Those who could write thus from the midst of fearful persecutions and the prison cell are truly styled, by Elkinton, "faithful followers of the Prince of Peace."¹

Maude truly concludes that "when all their faults and errors are summed up, this remains; that in the irrepressible conflict, of which thoughtful men are becoming more and more conscious, between the imperialistic and military spirit of the age on the one side, and the spirit of peace on the other, the Doukhobors (by whatever motives actuated) have struck a conspicuous blow against the modern slavery of conscription."²

¹ Op.cit., p.158.

² Ibid., pp.231-231.

CHAPTER V.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

The meek and lowly-minded men and women whose story makes up the history of passive resistance have been working at one of the bravest tasks ever undertaken by vessels of clay, and we, in essaying to narrate and estimate their conduct, are attempting to solve the most difficult problem of conduct to be met in human experience. This sweeping conclusion has forced itself upon the mind as the writer has followed patiently the struggles, sufferings, defeats, and triumphs of the advocates of moral resistance in a world of conflict and violence. It is so supremely difficult because it involves what we may call an antinomy of practical judgment. The reader of Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason" will recall that the German seer finds in the transcendental dialectic, wherein pure reason discourses of things above human experience, four propositions, each of which is perfectly sound in its logic, yet has each its direct contradiction in a counter proposition, which also is logically unanswerable.¹ In other words, the thesis and the anti-thesis are both convincing to the pure reason. Now in the problem before us we are facing a similar antinomy, that is to say, an irreducible contradiction. But instead of dealing with the imaginary things that transcend human experience, this antinomy has to do with the most immediately pressing problem that practical experience can present, namely, How should a human being or a social group react toward the aggressions of others? Therefore we have termed it an antinomy of practical judgment.

¹ Immanuel Kant's Critique of Pure Reason, translated by F. Max Muller. Centenary Edition (1907) p.328, ff.

The thesis of this contradiction affirms that evil should be met by resistance. This satisfies the instincts and feelings but disturbs the reason, which sees that by such conduct evil multiplies itself. The anti-thesis teaches non-resistance toward him that is evil. This satisfies the reflective reason but outrages the deepest feelings, which chafe at evil unrebuked.

Professor Giddings has profoundly discussed this problem in his "Democracy and Empire."¹ He finds it "a curious phenomenon,— this growth of conviction among intelligent people that the world would be better off if it accepted literally the gospel of non-resistance, while yet each civilized nation is strengthening its military resources and its armaments, and is intently watching every move of its rivals." This anomalous situation leads him to ask "whether there is not an inherent contradiction in the moral nature of man." He finds in Nietzsche and Tolstoy "the opposite poles of nineteenth century thought," and seeks to reduce the tremendous contradiction, which they incarnate, by a searching analysis of Nietzsche's idea of physiological power. He thinks that Nietzsche is right in making it the fundamental consideration for progress, but shows that it is too narrowly conceived. The "might" that makes "right" is not, in the thought of Professor Giddings, the undifferentiated might of sheer, crude, physical power. The triumph of such might is wrong. Physiological power becomes the might that makes for right when it becomes differentiated into various forms without diminishing the total amount. Among these differentiated forms are "sympathy and all its products,*** all the higher virtues -- philanthropy, compassion, and forgiveness." In these passages the thought is carried from worship of sheer brutality to moral levels. In the clear-

¹ Chapter XX., "The Gospel of Non-Resistance."

er light of this analysis the non-resistant figures as more than a weakling or a deluded victim of a suicidal obsession. In a sense he is really the Superman, for even on the physiological side, according to Giddings, "altruism is a mode of expenditure of any surplus energy that has been left over from successful individual struggle."

But it would be misleading to imply that the chapter is a plea for non-resistance at any cost. Professor Giddings expects these two principles to continue to operate; and "only in the spiritual brotherhood of a great secular republic created by blood and iron not less than by thought and love, will the kingdom of heaven be established on earth." This inadequate statement of Professor Giddings' argument will serve its purpose if it helps to impress upon the reader the tremendous difficulty of the problem before us.

Not only is it a duel between Nietzsche and Tolstoy, as Professor Giddings remarks, but the antinomy involves a whole array of antagonistic forces and systems deeply rooted in two contrary aspects of human nature. It seems almost, at times, to be the conflict of instinct with reason; of race against the individual life. The group purpose often ruthlessly demands the sacrifice of the private conscience, and competition, survival, patriotism, and evolution, array themselves against cooperation, self-sacrifice, humanitarianism and revelation.

This dual aspect of human experience brings to pass many strange alliances and unexpected situations. It is narrated¹ that during the blundering, raiding, violent Border struggles of our Civil war, the Shakers of Pleasant Hill, in Kentucky, dwelt in peace and security under the powerful protection of a most unlooked for protector, no less a personage than the notorious guerrilla leader, John Morgan." It developed that Morgan had grown up in the vicinity of the Shaker community, and

¹"Shakerism, Its Meaning and Message," by White and Taylor, p. 202.

cherished a profound respect for those quiet, kindly people. Hence, when the foragers were hatching a design against the well-stored Shaker larders and barns, he peremptorily forbade the affair. He then informed his troops that he had known the Shakers from long acquaintance, as "a harmless, inoffensive people, that they took no part with either side, injured no man and had no desire so to do, and none under his command should injure them in any way." The friendship thus formed was permanent, and Morgan "has ever been held, by all Shakers, in grateful remembrance."¹

This incident has been narrated, not for its seemingly unique picturesqueness, but because it typifies a universal human experience. The wild life of a Border raider expressed one side of Morgan's nature, the quiet village of non-resistant Shakers embodied the other. This concrete historic incident reveals the two motives in conflict upon the outward visible stage of human social action. They are forever in silent conflict in every human heart, and the pathos of Morgan's conduct is typical of all thoughtful human experience.

The plan of the present chapter is not to evaluate, or even explain, the contradictory experiences of passive resistants as revealed by history. That must be attempted in later chapters. For the present the method to be pursued is that of an inductive study of the actual sayings and doings of various advocates of passive resistance, in which its exponents will state the theory in their own words. Then some contradictions between the theory and its practice will be observed. But before so doing, the remarkable tendency of non-resistance toward logical degeneration and expansion in theory will be traced.

¹ Ibid.

The Path of Logical Degeneration

Professor Ross shows, in his Social Psychology,¹ the path of degeneration by which a discussion tends to descend "from the realm of social psychology into that of pugilistics." The process in the case before us is different, but the line of descent is fully as marked. In the other instance it is the result of the social dialectic of two disputants, who first reason, then wrangle, next vituperate, and finally fall to fighting. In this instance we shall observe the individual dialectic of a single mind, or of many minds acting separately, and the logical process by which this inherent contradiction in human nature forces the thinker down a path of degeneration by which the doctrine becomes self-destructive because all-destroying.

The initial proposition of non-resistance is, "Thou shalt not kill." Starting with this injunction, the first and natural interpretation is that one should commit no murder. All civilized and socialized men hold this command as inviolable. Many of the more highly enlightened extend it to forbid all retaliation, in the sense of personal revenge. Violence against human life is thus completely forbidden. But the next step is to inquire whether it should not include the life of animals also — at least the higher, more sentient forms. The Buddhist answer is found in the Story of the Goose-Killing Priest, already narrated. The Albigensian Perfecti also were forbidden to slay any beast, and the modern Doukhobors have at times taken the same position. They do not limit it to a priestly class, as in the other instances mentioned, but enjoin it upon all. In the case of Van der Ver, the hero of Tolstoy's essay, "The Beginning of the End," it is of significance here to observe that the young Hollander flatly refused to train simply be-

¹ See pp. 313-314.

cause he did not wish to murder his fellow-men, and remarked that he could not bear to see an animal killed, much less kill one himself. And in order to avoid the necessity he had become a vegetarian.

Here we have a process by which abhorrence of murder descends, or, if the reader prefers, ascends, into vegetarianism. It may not be contemptuously dismissed as a case of fanaticism or abnormal mentality. There are a great many sane and healthy vegetarians in the world who constitute a sort of standing refutation of such dogmatism. In styling it a "dialectic" it is not assumed, that this is a purely intellectual process. On the contrary it would seem to be due to a growing refinement of feeling, which may still further increase as civilizations become older.

A faction¹ among the Doukhobors in Canada took the next step along the path of logical degeneration, and concluded that since it was wrong to utilize the animals for food it must be equally wrong to exploit their labor. Therefore they promptly turned their beasts of burden loose to roam the plains in glad freedom while their masters harnessed themselves to the plough.²

The next scruple would logically attach itself to the destruction of plant life, and so we observe that among certain Buddhist zealots "carpentry, basket-making, working in leather, and other respectable occupations were held in disrepute, because they could not be carried on without a certain cost of plant and animal life."³ The Doukhobors went a step farther and objected to tillage because they did not want

¹ The illustrations taken in this connection do not represent the Doukhobors as a whole, but a considerable number were involved in these extremes.

² Elkinton's "Doukhobors" contains a photograph of this strange scene.
³ Aiken, op.cit., p.38.

"to spoil the earth!"¹

Thus far attention has been centered upon the effort to avoid aggression, but at this point, if the logical sequence is followed, the thought turns to the question of resistance to the aggressions of others. As fully illustrated in an earlier chapter, the Roman Stoics, and the Buddhists also, start out to resist no evil. This passes into an extreme asceticism, in the case of the Buddhist, and a ruthless casting off of useless baggage, (impedimenta that might hinder the stern will), in the case of the Stoics. In both cases the individual shifts from resisting no evil to a position where he desires no good. Then, with Marcus Aurelius, he comes to count even surprise at the course of events as unworthy. Reaction having diminished to a point, it now ceases altogether. Complete passivism finally triumphs. The Hindoo announces that one should "abandon (not only) all wish, passion, delight, desire, seeking, attachment, (but also all) mental affirmation, proclivity, and prejudice in respect of sensation, perception, *** the predispositions *** consciousness. Thus will all consciousness be abandoned, uprooted *** and become non-existent."²

This looks like mental self-destruction, so the last logical step brings both the Buddhist and the Stoic to suicide as a door of escape. For the Buddhist, Nirvana, the paradise of Nothingness, awaits the soul that has thus trod the pathway of absolute non-resistance to its logical ending.

The Tendency to Expansion in the Christian Tradition

It will be seen that the above description has dealt largely with the Hindoo religion and the Stoic philosophy. We must now turn

¹ The Buddhist extremists also "went so far as to question the blamelessness of tilling the ground," but this was "on account of the unavoidable injury to worms and insects in ploughing." Ibid.
² Warren, "Buddhism in Translation," p. 298.

to the Christian tradition and observe a somewhat similar logical elaboration, but in this case it is one of expansion, though based on the same prohibition, "Thou shalt not kill." In the first instance again this refers to murder, and applies to a personal foe. But the primitive Christians extended it to forbid the killing of a public enemy, a group antagonist, in battle. Thus war is prohibited, and, as we have seen, was very early branded as murder, by Lactantius.¹ The same writer and a number of later non-resistants, notably one wing of the Anabaptists, extended the prohibition to include the official act of a magistrate in executing the judgment of the law against a criminal. The next logical addition was to forbid the preferment of a capital charge, and it appeared in regular sequence.

All these are valid inferences from the prohibition against taking human life, where the same is received as absolute and sweeping. But still more difficult situations, real and imaginary, have confronted the advocates of passive resistance. The most distressing problem is that one which has been put to peace advocates time and again in the history of that movement.² This is the question whether it is right to resent with violence a murderous assailant of one's own person or life. Even thorough peace men writhe under this situation, but the absolute non-resistant stands firm and interprets literally the saying, "Resist not him that is evil: but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also." Yet when the final and truly crucial test is applied, and the hypothetical assailant is now pictured as a murderous ravisher of the helpless, human nature proves unequal to the ter-

¹ It is of interest to recall here that Buddha, when confronted with the question by Simha the General, explicitly refused to include war or official executions in the prohibition.

² See the published addresses of the American Peace Society.

rific strain. Fundamental instincts and emotions can no longer be confined. In the inner conflict, we have witnessed thus far the steady advance of the Idea, but it is now rolled backward under the irresistible uprush of outraged Feeling. In actual life the result is usually vigorous reaction. In the imagined situation that serves for discussion there is usually some logical fencing, or a more or less precipitate retreat, to avoid facing the hideous dilemma.

The Social Psychology of Non-Resistance, as Stated by
Its Advocates.

The considerations that demand attention at this point are not those of the private convictions and spiritual experiences of the non-resistant himself. We seek next to find the clue to his own social psychology, that is, the laws and principles by which he expected his peculiar rule of conduct to affect the other personalities with whom he found himself in contact. To be sure one need not hope to find a thoroughly rationalized system. It is always to be borne in mind that the true non-resistant has usually been governed by a compelling conviction of the eternal rightness of his course inasmuch as he believed it to be the divinely ordained and only way of salvation for mankind, and he would be among the last to attempt to justify the ways of God to men. Nevertheless one does find, in the sayings of the great teachers of the non-resistance ethics, the rudiments of a social psychology, that is, some laws of mental interaction among men.

The first formulation is negative, and affirms, in substance:

Evil aggression thrives only on the resistance which it meets. Lâo Tse said of the sage that "it is because he is free from striving that no one can strive with him." Seneca carries the same thought farther when he observes that "the displeasure suddenly quailleth whenas the one part forbearereth to contend. No man fighteth unless he is resisted."

This last is very explicit. Epictetus decided that this world offers very few things that are significant enough to warrant resistance if assailed, therefore, he asks, "Why do you not make public proclamation that you are at peace with all mankind, however they may act; and that you chiefly laugh at those who suppose they can hurt you?" Gautama put the thing with amusing pithiness when he said to his reviler, "I decline to accept your abuse." In this remark, and all the noble sayings above quoted, one finds simply a more elegant formulation of a truth familiar to the common-sense of western races and expressed in the old saw; "It takes two to make a quarrel."

The second principle is positive, and declares that Evil is overcome by good. Every one knows that Solomon said: "A soft answer turneth away wrath;" although the Wise Man of Israel is not to be reckoned among the non-resistants. The Sutra of the Chinese Buddhists enunciates the same thought in the striking words: "He will reply to thee in the same tone." In the story of Prince Dîrghâyû we have seen an exemplification of Gautama's principle that "Hatred is appeased by not-hatred. This", adds Buddha, "is an external law." No one who enjoys the least comprehension of the New Testament needs to be told that the very spirit of those writings, and of the apostolic church which was their living embodiment, is contained in the saying of Paul, "Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good." It was his faith in the efficacy of this principle that led the great Medieval Humanist, Erasmus, to the proposition that "the most effectual way of conquering the Turks would be if they were to see the spirit and teaching of Christ expressed in our loves; if they perceived that we were not aiming at empire over them."

The third principle formulated by the advocates of non-resistance is designed to prevent retaliation. It observes that Rational

reflection allays resentment and prevents strife. Epictetus understands that your neighbor has been throwing stones, and seeks to determine what kind of conduct is proper in return. "If you are considering yourself as a wolf, then bite again *** But if you ask the question as a man, then examine your treasure; see what faculties you have brought into the world with you. Are they fitted for ferocity; for revenge?"

In this reflection attention is fixed on the matter of fighting equipment, of fang and claw. In another passage Epictetus proposes that the aggrieved person should reflect upon his fundamental nature before going vehemently to the attack. "Remember to say first that you are constituted gentle, and that by doing nothing violent, you will live without the need of repentance, and irreproachable." In this passage Epictetus sounds the very depths of the problem on its moral side. The essential nature of man, the very law of his being, demands that his conduct be shaped, not in response to the moment's passion, but conformably to the standards of that ideal self in whose clear light conscience will eventually be heard, even though one take the wings of the morning and fly to the uttermost parts of the sea.¹

In their individual lives men come to guide themselves by the recollection that conscience never fails to have the last word. Therefore it is probably true that numberless incipient deeds of violence have failed of completion because their prospective perpetrators "remembered," and there are those today who propose to extend this principle of preliminary examination of the merits of the case to the group struggles, such as labor conflicts and international war. The idea was naively expressed ages ago in a legend of Gautama and the kings who were preparing to war for possession of certain fortifications.

¹ Psalms 137: 7-10.

" 'The Blood of men, however,' said Buddha, 'has it less intrinsic value than a mound of earth?' 'No,' the kings said, 'the lives of men, and above all the lives of kings, are priceless.' Then the Tathâgata concluded: 'Are you going to stake that which is priceless against that which has no intrinsic value whatever?' The wrath of the two monarchs abated, and they came to a peaceable agreement.'"

The reader may smile at the sweet reasonableness herein imputed to humanity, yet the principle is not so guileless as its form, in this instance. Summarizing we have three propositions. The first checks antagonism and aggression already begun; the second actively overcomes it with good; the third prevents a retaliatory evil-doing in return.

The Dyadic and Triadic Relations of Men.

Professor Royce presented in his extraordinary little book, "War and Insurance," published just after the opening of the present European conflict, a plan for the elimination of international conflicts which takes for its major premise the proposition that the above principles are unworkable. He quotes the saying of Buddha that "hatred ceases by love," and the words of the New Testament, "Little children, love one another," then interprets this to imply "that the moral destiny of man depends upon a certain pair of relations, -- the relation of love towards his neighbor, -- and the relation of hate."¹ But Professor Royce holds that the fundamental human relations are not those of man to man, i.e. "pair relations," but those of individual and group. Here he falls back upon his well known theory of loyalty as the characteristic form of all moral purpose.² It is in loyalty, devotion to a more inclusive purpose than that of the single individual life, that Professor Royce would find the solution for the tragic problem of

¹ P.15.

² See his "Philosophy of Loyalty."

war, and not in the love and hate relations," of men considered as pairs of individuals. These "dual or dyadic social relations," he brands as "the dangerous social relations." "Taken by itself, the mutual love of a mere pair of people tends, like physical energy, to run down hill; to be baffled by personal contrasts, to be thwarted by mutual interpretations, to give place to a consciousness of painful differences, to be worn out by time."¹ This inconstancy of love is "the first half of the law of the original sin of the dyadic human relations;" the second half of the law is that "the friction tends to increase, unless some other relation intervenes, or unless more than a pair of members belong to the community wherein mutual love ought to be sustained, or mutual jealousy averted." Loyalty, "the love of a self for an united community, always involves relations which concern more than two people."² It is this loyalty that sanctifies the battle-field in the eyes of millions of human beings. Professor Royce despairs of displacing it with the dyadic relation of love. "The sound advice to men," he affirms, "is then not completely expressed by the word: 'Little children, love one another;' but rather by the Pauline advice to love some united community which has the characters ascribed by Paul to the church. War itself persists because the nations still cultivate dyadic relations too exclusively." His unique solution proposes that the nations should grow into a common loyalty by some triadic relation, that is by what he has called "a community of interpretation." The type of such a community is one consisting ^{of} principal agent, and client. The essence of a "community of interpretation" is the fact that one of three, in this case the agent, stands between the other two, and interprets their purpose one to the other. Professor Royce sees in our mod-

¹ "War and Insurance," P. 34.

² Pp. 34, 35.

ern insurance arrangements the most comprehensive and potent of all communities of interpretation. He says that "the deepest reason why war is so persistent is that the nations, thus far in history, are related chiefly in pairs." Therefore, by the establishment of a great international insurance association, the nations should insure against national calamities, such as earthquakes, pestilence and war. This will require the creation of an international insurance board between the pairs of nations, which will thus acquire triadic relations, and "a definite loyalty to the community of nations, and a definite conscience regarding their obligations to one another." Moreover those concerned in the insurance enterprise will naturally seek to reduce the risks and this will set in motion new and powerful economic motives working for peace.

Profoundly true as this is, it pins its faith to purely economic and sordid motives in the end. It would seem to be a more consistently framed structure than much of modern peace theorizing, but it rests upon the same utilitarian foundation. The collapse of the arbitration movement in the present European situation, has shown that foundation to be of sand. When the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew and smote upon that house, it fell, and great was the fall thereof. The present writer would not essay to subtract anything from the theory of Professor Royce and the other profound thinkers who are wrestling with this mighty problem; he would simply add one thing, and that is this same old motive of love and goodwill. Too many thousands of men have lived in the power of that life that takes away the occasion for wars, to permit of its being dismissed as irrelevant to the problem of war. As well propose to eliminate all trickery from the world while maintaining that honesty has nothing to do with the solu-

tion. It is not however, the purpose of this essay to discuss the problems of war and arbitration. It is concerned with their root and ground as it exists in the natures and daily relations of men. If it were in order here, it would be easy to show that it is precisely the hate motive of selfish exploitation on the part of individuals which produces international conflicts, and consequently a different spirit in individuals would cure it. Nations as a whole do not cherish animosity toward one another, nor seek to aggress in the mass — at least never until private machinations have provoked the sort of group madness that is raging in Europe today. The motive of love is simply the motive of active goodwill. It is not, as Professor Royce seems to assume, a mere sentimental, natural affection, but an active, highly rationalized principle of conduct, which fosters the broad humanitarian program, instead of the narrow, hateful, blind and essentially irrational policy nursed, under the name of "patriotism," by the ruling, exploiting element of modern nations.¹

The conclusion then is that neither more refined social arrangements nor the inculcation of the motive of love or goodwill, is sufficient to banish this greatest of all evils from the earth. The united efforts of both will be required; yet, after all, the love motive is the more fundamental. It means a life dominated and ruled, not by instinctive reactions alone, but by an ideal and a rational plan greater than any of its followers could devise; for the passive resistant is part of a great spiritual community of men, living and dead. It is moreover essentially an active, positive principle. This accounts for the fact that passive resistance on a large scale has been found only among the most aggressive peoples in the world — the north European races, and two of the most virile among these, viz., the Germans and the English.

These passive resistants, armed only with their doctrine of love

¹See Tolstoy's essay, "Christianity and Patriotism."

and goodwill, fought the battles of peace alone for a thousand years. They constituted the true peace party. The one thing assumed by Professor Royce and all who argue in similar vein is that war is abhorrent and peace most to be desired. They thus take their stand in the very beginning on ground won by centuries of suffering on the part of those who had buckled on "the whole armor of God" when they embraced this now despised doctrine of love. The moral impetus of the modern peace movement springs directly from this source. The peace and arbitration movement, in so far as it has genuine spiritual vitality, is not much more than an extension of the Quaker peace testimony of the last three centuries. When one considers the life-long labors of such a man as Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood, of the American Peace Society, with due regard to both quantity and quality, the achievements of most Nobel Peace Prize winners, noble as they are, pale into insignificance. Yet his work, broad and statesmanlike as it has always been, is rooted and grounded in this motive of Christian love.

Passive Resistance and the State.

The Pauline doctrine of the State was simply one of accommodation to the actual conditions of an evil world. Moreover, it was a purely temporary arrangement. The world was passing away and its rulers were coming to naught. Since the end of all things was so near at hand, the best thing to do was for all to abide as they found themselves in the social order. Rulers were recognized as the agents of God against evil-doers. The State gained by assumption a certain validity, but the whole thing was believed to be of such an ephemeral nature that no positive theory of political science can be deduced from the New Testament sayings. Christian men had no conception of themselves as a legitimate part of a society which was not only to endure for centuries, but also to work out its earthly salvation by the democratic participation of

all its citizens.

Nevertheless, all the thinkers of the Middle Ages tried to ground their political practice on certain Bible sayings. Among these the most prominent were the principle of non-resistance and that of passive obedience to rulers. The two together erected a tremendous barrier against all insurrections, yet the inner spirit of Christianity and the general tenor of the New Testament gave, at the same time and to the very same men, a powerful impetus to social and religious revolution. In the last analysis the problem became one of how to bring about the inevitable revolutionary changes when the only two avenues, constructive reform and insurrection,¹ were both closed; the former by the stupid tyranny of the ruling classes, the latter by the doctrines of passive obedience to rulers and the principle of non-resistance.

Luther and the Other Reformers.

Perhaps no historic character ever presented these two tendencies in more violent contrast than did the volcanic nature of Martin Luther. Up to a certain point he was a violent revolutionist; beyond that he figures as a slavish adherent of passive obedience. Attention must now be given to the predicaments and devious turnings that mark his career, following the masterly analysis of Dr. MacKinnon.²

Luther started out upon the platform of a primitive Christian, which forbade the use of violent means. Early in his heroic contest with the Roman hierarchy, he came in close contact with men of violence, like Hutton and von Sickingen, who saw in force the only remedy for the times. Luther was by nature violent, but, in view of his Christian principles, he contented himself with furious and untempered words, in the

¹ See Perry, "The Moral Economy," Chapter IV.
² "A History of Modern Liberty," by James MacKinnon, Ph.D. (1906) Vol. II., Ch. III.

free use of which he was not different from many religious men of his times. MacKinnon says that in his impulsive or despondent moments he had some thought of meeting force with force, but he finally rejected the proposal of his allies to seize carnal weapons. "The Bible was to be his armory in the fight with error and abuse;*** even Anti-christ, as he has not used violence, will be overpowered by violence with the word."¹

But Luther's prediction failed of fulfillment. "Anti-christ," (the Pope), and his followers were not scrupulous about the use of violence, and in the end it became a massing of force against force. Luther's cause had been espoused by the German princes and its fortunes were to stand or fall with the political fortunes of his allies. His aim was theological reform, not social or political justice, but the actual situation identified his fortunes with that of the Protestant rulers, and to separate from them would have meant the certain failure of his work and his own death at the stake. But in thus making common cause with rebellious princes against their overlord, Luther's doctrine of passive obedience to rulers was very embarrassing, the more so because he must force it down the throats of the rebellious peasants while at the same time disregarding it himself.

Mention has already been made of the uprising of the poor commoners in the Peasant Wars, and of the relation subsisting between their hopes and successes and the Anabaptist doctrines, both peaceable and violent. Luther was the son of a peasant, and his sympathies were naturally with that oppressed class, but for their program of revolt he had only abhorrence. He declared with truth that all popular insurrections are blind and indiscriminating, and further argued that more harm

¹ Ibid., p. 68.

han good always comes of rebellion. But, aside from such considerations, Luther held immovably to the doctrine that submission to divine-right rulers is an absolute duty at any cost. While branding the rulers as "fools and scoundrels," he held that their Christian subjects might not resist, "but suffer, though they shall not approve or serve."¹

The peasants disregarded Luther's advice and a flood of terror and destruction broke loose. The peasants directed their violence principally against the ill-gotten property of their oppressors, and MacKinnon declares that "it cannot be said that the peasant as a rule showed any savage desire to shed the blood of his enemies. All things considered, there are remarkably few excesses of murderous passion to record."² Not so with the nobles. When the tide was shortly turned they wreaked vengeance in an orgy of murderous fury which paled the crimes of their poor peasant victims into "meekness itself." "Luther had indeed counselled the princes and nobles to deal gently with the common man. He even warned them of the consequences of unjust oppression. But when it came to the point he allowed panic and prejudice to carry him away into the fiercest partisanship on the side of repression, and indulged in the most heartless gibes at the beaten democracy's expense."³ MacKinnon declares that it was partly "his slavish doctrine of passive obedience" that made him such a "raving savage." "These are fine Christians," he rages. "I believe there is no longer a single devil in hell; they have all taken possession of the peasants,*** whoever is slain in the cause of constituted authority is a true martyr in the sight of God," whereas "whoever is killed on the Boers' side will burn forever in hell.*** Therefore, dear lords, stab, strike, throttle who can."

Luther thus became the very apostle of force and violence in the

¹ Ibid., p. 70.

² Ibid., p. 91.

³ Ibid., p. 106. Digitized by Google

interest of constituted authority. His worship of "the powers that be" amounted to an adoration, an obsession. His wild outburst was not the mis-step of a bitterly repented moment. He continued to glory in his deeds and words. "It was I, Martin Luther, who slew all the peasants during the insurrection, for I commanded them to be slaughtered; all their blood is on my head. But I throw the responsibility on our Lord God, who instructed me to give this order."¹ Incredible conduct this seems indeed, for one who was supposed to hold the peaceable faith of the primitive Christians. Nothing could show more clearly how far removed he really was from that position. The truth seems to be that Luther was not a peace man at heart but a true legal resistant, hampered by the doctrine of passive obedience and submission to the powers that be. This is demonstrated with perfect clearness by his policy after the peace of Augsburg.

The result of the theological debate at Augsburg was that ^{the} Protestants were given six months in which "they must renounce their creed or submit to be treated as heretics or outlaws."² Then Luther's warrior spirit flamed forth. This heroic battler for a freer religious life now stood ready to grapple even with the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, his own legally constituted overlord. Luther's doctrine of passive obedience could not stem the titanic forces gathering themselves for the great conflict. The Emperor had allied himself with "Anti-Christ," and had forfeited obedience. Luther still "shows a noble hatred of the resort to violence in order to settle religious questions," yet "if the papists will have war and violence, so let it be. *** Resistance to such oppression is no rebellion."³ It is hard to see any essential difference between this situation and that of the poor

¹ Ibid., p. 102.

² Ibid., p. 115.

³ Ibid., p. 116.

peasants whom Luther had helped to crush in the name of divine submission. But his logic came limping along after his imperious purpose, and announced that, in this instance, "obedience is absolutely forbidden by God, and *** endangers body and soul to all eternity."¹ In this predicament the legal resisters saved the doctrine of passive obedience. The Saxon jurists came forward with a working theory, whereby resistance to emperor and Diet was shown to be no rebellion, but the vindication of constitutional rights.*** They appealed to constitutional law in order to save appearances, and afford a valve for susceptible consciences like those of Luther and the elector.*** Luther *** still held to his conviction that the Christian must not resist the powers that be. But, on the ground of the decision of the jurists, he makes a distinction between the Christian and the citizen, the member of the body of Christ, and the body politic. As a citizen he agrees with the jurists that resistance is admissible, and, though he will not himself as a theologian advise any Christian to resist, he leaves it to his conscience to decide how he will act."² Who can withhold from this great Liberator the admiration which his colossal achievements demand? Aside from his deplorable ferocity toward the struggling peasants, he may even be pitied, as one tossed in the maelstrom of stupendous forces and principles beyond his control, yet which he himself had unchained. Luther cannot be placed upon the roll of passive resisters, although he tried to hold some of the tenets of their faith. His career affords simply one more corroboration of the opening statement of this chapter, viz., that we are dealing here with the most difficult of all problems of practical conduct. The careers of Calvin and Knox reveal the same incongruous mixture of non-resistance and passive obedience in theory,

¹ Ibid., p. 116.

² Ibid., p. 119.

coupled with scorn of democracy, revolutionary activity, and intolerant persecution in their own practice.¹

With all his emphasis upon the doctrine of submission to constituted authority, Luther never went so far as to maintain that the Christian should do wrong, even at the behest of a divine right ruler. In this he is a decided improvement over his fellow reformer, Martin Bucer, "Who insisted that subjects must obey commands even when contrary to the Word of God."² Here again we see how fully divorced in spirit this doctrine was from that of non-resistance, since "for this extreme concession he, ^(Bucer) sought compensation by demanding that all professors of a false religion, presumably Roman Catholic and dissenters from Lutheranism, should be exterminated by fire and sword. Even women and children, yea, the very cattle of these false professors, might lawfully be destroyed."³ The pure principle of peace had no concord with such a doctrine of regulated and nicely discriminating ferocity. It was this same teaching that led the Anabaptists of the Millenarian branch into the excesses and tragic failure of the New Jerusalem at Münster. Their downward course began when they discarded their peace doctrine of patient submission for one of a divinely commissioned vengeance on the enemies of the Lord.

Not all Anabaptists were of this warlike temper. Many of them were of the true non-resistant type, and with them this doctrine of submission bulks large. The "men of the staff" constituted one wing of the Anabaptists of Nikolsburg. They were so called in contradistinction to the "men of the sword," which latter group upheld the authority of the magistrate to wield the sword of justice against criminals. Leonhard, ruler of Nikolsburg, gave out word that left the "men of the staff" no

¹ See MacKinnon, op.cit., Vol. II., pp. 147 ff.; and 400 ff.
² Ibid., p. 103.

³ Ibid.

alternative but to depart. Yet no sooner had they gone than his heart repented him for the loss of his peaceable and industrious subjects. So he took to the saddle and overhauled them on the road, inquiring why they were leaving Nikolsburg. Their conscience and heart, he was told, bore witness against him and his preachers, but the most extraordinary complaint of all was their charge that, in protecting these very people some time before against the Austrian Provost, he had "resisted the powers that be," and that was to "resist the ordinance of God." Leonhard, we are not surprised to learn, was struck with admiration at their unspeakable constancy to conviction even when it worked against themselves, but was unable to persuade them to return.¹

As has been shown in the words of Balthasar Hübmaier, a large wing of the Anabaptists taught that there are two swords, one, the spiritual, given to the true church, the other, the temporal, placed by divine commission in the hand of the magistrate. As he quaintly observes, "if there are two swords, of which one belongs to the soul, the other to the body, you must let them both remain in their worthiness, dear brothers."² Hübmaier held that these two swords were not opposed to each other, but not all Anabaptists were so liberal. The general theory of the movement, and ^{of} the sects into which it differentiated, was distinctly negative. The Anabaptists were especially intent upon denying the power of the civil magistrate to coerce men in matters of faith and conscience, since they had good reason to be hostile to government because of their long persecutions. But in their zeal thus to disarm the intolerant state church, they swung to the opposite extreme, and ended in a doctrine of complete political non-participation on the part of the Christian.

¹ Bax, op. cit., pp. 84, 85.

² Vedder: "Balthasar Hübmaier," p. 194.

The Münsterites developed, at least in their prospectus as proclaimed by their itinerant prophets, a real anarchistic theory. So at least declared two of the apostles sent out by Jan Matthys: "Münster," they said, "was to be the New Jerusalem where the saints were to reign in unity and brotherly love, constrained by no law and no authority."¹ But in the main the Anabaptists recognized the State as a necessary and valid institution of the realm of darkness, in which the true Christian had no part. In so far as it sustained any relation to him it was as the scourge of God, and "the Brethren should obey it rather too much than too little."² This represents the true Anabaptist political theory, and the affair at Münster is to be regarded as an aberration.

The Quaker Theory of the State.

The theory, and especially the practice, of the Friends was precisely the opposite of the Anabaptist position. The Quaker's political doctrine was all positive. He did not spend any time arguing about the State, pro or con. He simply accepted it as a tremendous institution for good if administered in the fear of God. Mention has already been made of a few of the services of the Quakers for English and American liberty, and we have noticed their political activity in England. It is in the field of actual civil experiment that the Quaker political science must be studied. They assumed some things and took others for granted, then plunged into the active work of government, where their trying experiences forced some political reflections and finally a policy of non-participation upon them, from which however they have rallied in recent years.

Not only did the Quakers regard political participation as a right; it became a privilege and a duty in the case of Penn's noble

¹ Bax, op.cit., p.143. Italics mine. ² Ibid., p.50.

dream of a Holy Experiment in Free Government. In his great Frame of Government for the Colony and his plan for the Peace of Europe, Penn showed the qualities of true Christian statesmanship, and his Quaker brethren and sisters seconded and perpetuated his efforts for seventy years. In the internal or domestic affairs of the colony there was no lack of success, and in the semi-domestic relations involving the Pennsylvania Indian tribes they gave a lustrous example of the power of square dealing which will be examined in a later chapter. But when the wider stream of English and French world-politics, accelerated by the misdoings of violent men all along the frontier, swept over the colonies, the Quaker peace government was helpless to avert disaster, and when war actually began it was utterly impotent.

Our purpose here is to observe some of the dilemmas of Quaker passive resistant government, leaving its merits for later discussion. For this purpose attention will first be directed to the Quaker governors of Rhode Island. For the large part of a century prior to the Revolution the Friends, who were, and still are, numerous in Rhode Island, furnished a line of governors to that doughty little colony. Here were presented some very interesting pictures of true passive resisters engaged in the work of government.

Edward Wanton was a towering figure among the New England Friends of that day. Jones¹ narrates how, as an officer of the guard in Boston when the first Quakers suffered martyrdom there, he was so deeply moved by their innocence and heroism that he went home a changed man. As he unbuckled his sword he said, "Mother, we have been murdering the Lord's people, and I will never put a sword on again." Henceforth he seized every opportunity to learn the principles of the Quakers, and later himself became a Friend. This occurred prior to the year 1661. Wanton

¹ "Quakers in the American Colonies," p.201ff.

became a minister of note among the Quakers and was repeatedly chosen governor of the state. In this position he issued military commissions and performed other warlike official acts which look rather inconsistent with the principles of non-resistance. The Quaker Meeting thought so, and sent a committee to labour with him. Governor Wanton did not flinch, but said that with clear conscience he had been guided by the conviction that his first duty was the performance of the functions which the colony had laid upon him when he accepted the office. "I have endeavored" he added, "on all previous occasions, as on this, to do my whole duty to God and my fellow-men, without doing violence to the law of my conscience, but in all concerns, listening to the still small voice of divine emanation and being obedient to it."¹

Wanton had been preceded by Coddington, Easton, and other Quaker governors, and most, if not all, of them had to meet this irrepressible conflict between the sovereignty of the state and the doctrine of peace. "He complied with the call (to furnish troops) as his uncles had done in similar straits."² One of these Quaker governors, Nicholas Easton, according to an amusing record of the Assembly, was appointed in 1667, on a committee along with three other Friends, to arrange for the defense of the colony, and "for mounting the great gun." He accepted the appointment, but seems to have delegated the work on the "great gun" to a lieutenant.³ Without multiplying illustrations we may say that the Rhode Island Quakers, when in office, subordinated their non-resistant scruples to the imperative demands of the office, yet at the same time pursued an ever-vigilant policy of peace and true passive resistance. When called upon to send troops to the assistance of neighboring colonies, they failed to respond, and thus drew upon themselves the criticism of the more warlike Puritans.

¹ Ibid., pp. 204, 205.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., pp. 175, 176.

The signature of the Quaker governor Coddington was set to the commission which instructed Major John Cranston to use his "utmost endeavor to kill, expulse, expell, take and destroy all and every the enemies of his majesty's collony." This occurred at the time of the Indian troubles of 1673. Two Quakers were despatched with "all convenient speed" for Providence, from the seat of government at Newport, to examine and report concerning the need for a garrison, or garrisons, there. They reported in favor of "one garrison with seven men and a commander."¹ In the midst of these seemingly un-Quakerly activities the Assembly passed the first law in America granting exemption from military service to those whose consciences forbade it. They thus showed their determination to administer impartially the government, giving each one his portion of meat in due season. On the whole we may say that they gave to history one of the rarest things to be found in its pages — a policy of purely defensive war, hostilities being regarded as an unavoidable incident and deplorable defect in a positive and constructive policy of non-aggression and peace. But this did not satisfy their Puritan neighbors, who wrote from Plymouth to the King as follows: "The truth is the authority of Rhode Island being all the time of the warr in the hands of the Quakers, they scarcely showed an English spirit, either assisting us, their distressed neighbors, or relieving their own plantations upon the Mayne."²

There was an element among the Quakers themselves who were no more pleased than were the Puritans, though for precisely opposite reasons. Jones states the situation finely when he says: "There have always been in the Society of Friends two groups of persons. One group held it to be imperative to work out their principles of life in the complex affairs of the community and state, where to gain an end one

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid., p. 188.

must yield something; and where to achieve ultimate triumph one must risk his ideals to the tender mercies of a world not yet ripe for them.*** Another group was pledged unswervingly to the ideal. 'If there comes a collision between allegiance to the ideal and the holding of public office, then the office must be deserted.'¹ The Rhode Island Quakers exemplify the former attitude, but it would be a sad mistake to infer that they ever lowered their peace standard. Loyal devotion to public duty in public position might dictate certain un-Quakerly tasks, but in the Quaker Meetings there was no wavering. "No man could remain a Friend if he participated 'in the spirit of war.' "Even so blue-blooded a Friend," says Jones, "as Nathanael Greene of Rhode Island, a patriot of the patriots — had his name expunged from the list of members for the offence of 'taking arms.'²

In Pennsylvania the same contradictions between theory and practice appeared. Gummere³ points out the incongruity which placed the Quaker governors of Pennsylvania, as well as those of Rhode Island, with their testimony against fighting, in the office of Captain-General of those provinces. Even William Penn himself had to grant a commission to establish a fort on the Delaware. He could not have received the charter for his colony without accepting command under the King. That was the price he had to pay in the very outset for the opportunity to establish peace in a world where violence ruled. As Gummere points out, he performed his "martial acts through deputies who were not Quakers and who had no scruples."⁴ Because of this willingness on the part of the Quakers to permit others to undertake the tasks against which their own consciences rebelled, Jones observes that "the Deputy-Governor must *** not be a Friend."⁵ Yet even so, the Friends found many duties of

¹ Ibid., pp. 175, 176.

² Ibid., p. 151.

³ "The Quaker in the Forum," p. 134.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Op. cit., p. 424.

government that seemed incompatible with non-resistant principles absolutely interpreted."The magistrates were often ministers, and in their civil functions would arrest offenders by force but without loss of life or limb."¹ During the great Keith controversy within the Society, Friends were accused of inconsistency in these matters by the Keith faction. In their official capacity Friends had to meet the question of capital punishment also, but here they squarely upheld the power of the sword. In 1778 the Quaker Assembly passed an Act, drawn up by a Quaker lawyer, which added a dozen or more offences to the list of capital crimes. The Meetings did not protest against it. In view of these facts, President Sharpless concludes that "there appears to have been no testimony against capital punishment per se." The same high authority thinks that in respect to capital punishment, though in this respect alone, "Penn, s 'Holy Experiment' ended with his death," and that "the absence of any positive testimony against taking human life weakened the position of Friends on the subject of war, though they were able to point to a valid distinction between police and martial measures."²

As the war-clouds thickened and the national feeling arose, the Friends were not impervious to the same, in spite of the fact that their doctrine of submission to constituted authority placed them, along with all peace sects, always on the side of the established order. Yet their hearts were usually with the Revolutionary cause, which their own democratic teachings and their frequent contests with tyranny had done so much to foster.

In the earlier French and Indian troubles some young men had been guilty of bearing arms, and in their acknowledgement of their offense to the Meeting they plead "that it seemed best for those that

¹ Ibid., p. 446.

² Op.cit., p. 473.

had guns to take them not with a design to hurt, much less to kill *** but we thought if we could meet those runaways, the sight of the guns might fear them!"¹ And we learn from the same author that Penn's secretary, James Logan, accompanied the sheriff with an armed posse, for which offense he made acknowledgement to the meeting. It further appears that sympathy with the popular cause was so strong among the Friends that in the case of the young Quakers who took to arms, patriotic feeling "prevented anything more decided than 'labour,' to induce them to see the logic of the Friendly position against war."² The Assembly, though controlled by Quakers, was unable to resist the tide of group sentiment, and "recognizing their duty 'to give tribute to Caesar,' voted \$4000 (in 1745) for 'bread, beef, pork, flour, wheat and other grains' in lieu of military supplies. The Governor is said to have construed 'other grain' to mean gunpowder."³ The other peace sects were in embarrassing straits also, according to the measure of their much lighter political responsibilities. A leading Schwenkfelder acted as trustee for a war fund in his neighborhood, while the Mennonites and Dunkers paid for military substitutes. There is no need of adding further illustrations of the truth that the path of a consistent non-resistant in times of war is the straitest and narrowest and stoniest path the

¹ Ibid., p. 392.

² Ibid., p. 507.

³ Ibid., p. 491. In connection with this controversy between the Quaker Assembly and the non-Quaker Governor, Jones records, with delicious humor, that the excitement, which lasted through several years, "culminated in a street fight in 1742, when a number of sailors tried to raid the polls in the interest of the Governor's party, and a bunch of hard-fisted Germans stood by the Assembly. In both the street fight and the elections," he remarks, "the Quakers triumphed."

feet of men ever sought to tread.

In the end the uncompromising, idealistic party, mentioned above by Jones, carried the Society with it. The Friends withdrew from the control of the legislature. Not only had their policy been hampered by lack of control over the executive department, the Governor being an Episcopalian, but their whole policy of peace and fair dealing toward the Indians had been ruthlessly violated. No other people deserves higher honor on the roll of true Americanism than the sturdy Scotch-Irish who pushed the two frontiers of tillage and liberty forward all through the history of this country. But no people could have been found who were better qualified to spoil the pacific Quaker and German policy than those fiery and hot-headed frontiersmen. Their cold-blooded extermination of the Cenestoga Indians in the so-called rebellion of the Paxton Boys is enough to show their temper when aroused. Their belligerent doings helped to bring the reign of peace in Pennsylvania to its close. But this must be left for a later chapter which will permit of an estimate of the success and failure of the Quaker policy in Pennsylvania.

Passive Resistance and Political Theory.

The tendency of a logical proposition, when conceived as absolute and unbending, to elaborate itself into most unexpected and undesired conclusions, has been already illustrated. The application in that discussion was made primarily to questions of practical personal conduct such as self-defense and the will-to-live. Here a few words must be said with reference to the bearing of non-resistance on political science, or the theory of the State.

The first observation is that passive resistants have seldom been political theorists. Their theory is to be sought in their assumptions, and incidentally in connection with their practice. The idea,

held by Chelcicky and the Unitas Fratrum, the Albigensian Perfecti, the Anabaptists and the Pietistic peace sects, that a Christian dare not participate in civil government, cannot be universalized without destroying the State, since every recruit to religion would subtract one more citizen from the work of government. But it may be said, with truth, that these sects did not expect to see the whole world saved. A world of ungodly men was the indispensable background of all their thinking. It provided the dark tones of the canvas, against which the high-lights of the Saintly actors stood out. They taught submission to the State as divinely ordained, yet the continuance of wicked men was the only condition on which the State could exist. If it be rejoined that no government would really be needed in a world where all men were true Christians, i.e. men of active good-will, the truth of the contention may be promptly admitted, provided the coercive and protective aspects of the State alone are referred to. The Apostle Paul teaches this sort of Christian anarchy when he says that "Against such there is no law," the law being made for evil-doers and not for men of good-will.

But even in the absence of coercion, the State is the supreme institution for the regulation and improvement of the indispensable social relations of men. Coercion may be dispensed with in a world of right-minded beings, but order is even Heaven's first law. The Quaker understood this and plunged into the work of government, despite his abhorrence of violence in every form. In the school of practical politics he was to learn that the State as it actually exists among men is an institution of coercion, and is inseparably rooted in violence. The Anabaptist Hübmaier had perceived the logical implications of any theory that denies the coercive power of the magistrates, and we have already heard him asking of those who objected to it, "Wherefore do we help and preserve it with our taxes?" The same argument appears in the

Quaker experience in Pennsylvania, as follows.

James Logan, has already been referred to as one who believed in defensive war. This conviction he expressed by both word and deed on numerous occasions. In his "Letter to the Society of Friends on the subject of their opposition in the legislature to all means of defense of the colony,"¹ dated September 22, 1741, he refers to the invitation given him by Penn forty-two years before, to come to America with him and serve as secretary for the Colony. Logan continues: "I had no scruple to accept of that, or of any other Post I have since held: being sensible that as Government is absolutely necessary amongst Mankind, so, though all Government, as I had clearly seen long before, is founded on Force, there must be some Persons to administer it. I was therefore the more surprised, when I found my Master, on a particular occasion in our voyage hither,² though coming over to exercise the Powers of it in his own Person here, showed his sentiments were otherwise." This shows a clear comprehension of the nature of the State, but he pushes the analysis deeper. "Wherever there is a Private Property, and Measures be taken to increase it by amassing Wealth according to our practice, to a Degree that may tempt others to invade it, it has always appeared to me to be full as Justifiable to use Means to defend it when gott, as to acquire it." In this passage Logan anticipates the Christian non-resistant anarchism of Count Tolstoy. The latter, as has been described, was very influential in shaping the Doukhobor philosophy. After their partial adoption of the communistic life in Canada,

¹ Printed in the "Pennsylvania Historical Society Collections," 1853. Vol. VI., pp. 36-42.

² The reference is to an attack by pirates upon the ship bearing William Penn and his company to America. Penn and the other strictly non-resistant Quakers retired to the cabin and awaited their fate. Logan mounted the deck and prepared to assist in a vigorous defense. After the incident, which did not prove serious, an amusing word passage occurred between Penn and his warlike secretary.

Tolstoy wrote them, encouraging them to persevere in a course so eminently Christian in his eyes. In the course of the letter he makes the very same argument just now quoted from Logan. "Those who perform military and police service and make use of property," argues Tolstoy, "act better than those who refuse to be soldiers or policemen, but yet wish to enjoy property. Such men wish, without serving, to make use of the service of others for their own advantage."¹ But while Logan and Tolstoy stand upon the same premise they reach different conclusions. Having concluded that private property and non-resistance cannot both be retained, Tolstoy prefers to give up private property and maintain absolute non-resistance. Logan, on the other hand, keeps property but gives up enough of the doctrine of non-resistance to make room for defensive war. His argument illumines so clearly the dark corners of this perplexing problem that it must be followed further. In attacking private property he struck a weak point in the passive resistant's position, for nothing is more remarkable than the ease and certainty with which all such peoples accumulate a fair competence. A study of the distribution of the sects described in this essay would be equivalent to mapping the location of ^{the} best farms in the territory concerned.

In showing that their security in the possession of comfortable estates depended upon government, and that government in turn reposed in the last analysis on coercion and the implied use of force, Logan had not shaken the Quaker position so badly as he had that of the sects which forbade participation in politics. The Friends had always upheld the power of the constabulary over disturbers of law and order and assailants of person and property. In fact, the other sects had done the same, but they did not, like the Quakers, help to conduct the enterprise very actively. Logan now extends his argument and shows

¹Quoted in Maude's "A Peculiar People, etc.," pp. 272-273.

that the Colony, being part of the English government, is liable for its share of defensive preparations against external foes. Moreover he holds that the common law of posse comitatus is equivalent in principle to militia duty. Therefore, "from these Premises it certainly follows that whoever can find freedom in himself to joyn in Assembly in making laws, as particularly for holding courts, is so far concerned in Self-Defense, and makes himself essentially as obnoxious to censure as those who directly vote for it." The argument, pro and con, need not be followed further. Enough has been presented to show the theoretical aspects of this subject. It may be noted, however, that Logan suggested that Friends would do wisely to retire from the Legislature, a thing which they actually did a few years later.

Anomalies of Passive Resistance.

It thus gradually appeared that the absolute doctrine of non-resistance, and the actual practice of passive resistance (i.e. active participation in politics while denying the war power) were in conflict with two great theories which have since come to be part of the very fundamental frame-work of social thinking. One is the evolutionary theory of the survival of the fittest through conflict and destruction of the weaker, and the other is the theory of the sovereignty of the State as formulated by political science. All we need to note is that it is the foundation stone of the apologists for war and ruthlessness today. Their fundamental error was laid bare long ago by a great evolutionist, Thomas Huxley,¹ and further exposed by Lester F. Ward.² Both these great thinkers have shown that the law of the brute forces of nature is not the whole law of social evolution. Civilization is a square "Right about! March!" square into the face of evolution as observed in the

¹ In his address "Evolution and Ethics."

² In "Pure Sociology" and other writings.

sub-human world. It is not the purpose here to discuss the merits of the apostles of war, but merely to point out that theory has now caught up with practice, and the predicaments of the advocates of peace are now seen to be due to holding two mutually exclusive ideas. viz, non-resistance and government.

Observing the diverse expressions of this "inherent contradiction in the moral nature of man," we see advocates of non-resistance manifesting an affinity for the affairs of government, with all its coercion; and the exponents of the ruthless ethics of evolution and political sovereignty often secretly admiring the men of peace and covertly assuming their ideal to be the true goal of humanity. The Roman Emperor and Stoic Philosopher, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, exemplifies, in his self-contradictory career, the union of these two antagonistic principles of conduct. Bigg says, "From his cradle he was a beautiful soul, delicate in mind as in body, tender, truthful, docile, sweetly melancholy, a virginal flower, shrinking from the world of which he was the master".¹ Yet the greatness of the Caesars was thrust upon him, and this gentle dreamer, who penned the irenic passages of the "Meditations," did so in those precious moments of peaceful solitude which he was able to snatch from the crowding cares of the day. And what were the activities which consumed the days of this reluctant wearer of the purple? Directing the terrible Roman legions at the front, administering the machinery of coercion at home, and pursuing Christians with the worst persecutions in the history of the Church! Yet this was not the fruit of hypocrisy. "Marcus is a noble figure. Even the Christians of the ages of persecution could not speak evil of him, though he had smitten them very hard. Noble, beautiful and most pathetic." He was simply that most incongruous thing, an absolute non-resistant on the throne of the

¹ In John Jackson's "Translation," Intro., p.13.

Caesars. Bigg picturesquely declares, "The gods had appointed him a task that was far beyond his strength; he wrestled with it, but he wrestled in vain. We may call him the most tragic figure in history."¹

The conflict thus supremely set forth in Marcus Aurelius, passive resistants in all ages since have endured in greater or less degree according to their implication in government. As a result every passive resistant movement has at some point been forced either to deny itself or repudiate the state. The Mennonites have been among the most consistent, barring their excursion into city government at Germantown, in their policy of non-participation in politics; but among the least consistent in their testimony against war, inasmuch as they made war contributions and furnished substitutes. On the other hand the Quakers have maintained an almost unbroken and unbending testimony against war, while entangling themselves in all kinds of inconsistencies in their determined efforts to convert the state to the ways of peace by their activity in civil affairs.

But the presence of war in the world has not been without some compensations for the distressed advocates of non-resistance. Sometimes it has been their deliverer, and we have the interesting spectacle of non-resistance sheltered by the arm of violence. The persecution of the Bohemian Brethren was halted by the attacks of the Turks, and in this the Brethren rejoiced, regarding it as the deliverance of the Lord. Luther escaped the stake because the attention of Charles V. was distracted by the wars waged against him in Italy and France; the Quakers in New England were delivered from the further mercies of Puritan intolerance by order of Charles II., who thus sought to avenge himself for the death of his father at the hands of the English Puritans. Of

¹ Op.cit., p.49.

course, if all men had been as themselves, these preachers of non-resistance would have needed no protection from men of violence by men of violence, but these incidents illustrate the anomalous situations that have accompanied the history of this doctrine.

Passive resistance would be a form of suicide in a brutal community where law and order, at least in semblance, did not reign. Hence it presupposes its opposite, for order rests on coercion, and coercion is rooted in violence. Nevertheless, the dilemmas of the men of peace are always the work of the men of violence, as will later appear. A universal regime of violence means an essentially unstable condition. It finally flees in terror from itself, to the borders of peace. As Lombroso says, "The transformation of vengeance into compensation was *** facilitated by the *** exaggeration of vengeance, which naturally was always disproportionate to the cause and came thereby to be a source of hate and continual agitation."¹ Passive resistance and peace afford the level of stability toward which society early tends, later yearns, yet has never attained. Professor Ross has shown the steps in this process in his chapter on "The Rôle of Individual Reaction."²

During this transition period, this chrysalis stage of humanity, the passive resistant has suffered much, not only from the contradictions of men, but from the conflicts of his own heart. Therefore the anomalous situations of actual life have been matched by casuistical solutions in the realm of theory. Gautama justified the warrior who "moderates himself and, extinguishing all hatred from his heart lifts his down-trodden adversary up and says to him, 'come now and make peace and let us be brothers.'"³ Emmanuel Swedenborg presents a most ingenious

¹ "L'Homme Criminel, par Ce'sar Lombroso. Deuxieme edition francaise." (1895) p.81.

² "Social Control," Ch.V.

³ Carus, "The Gospel of Buddha," p.128.

plan for handling the antinomy, as follows: "Where a person resists the assaults of an enemy, and in his own defense either beats him, or commits him to prison for his future security, at the same time retaining such a disposition of mind as to be willing to become his friend; in this case he acts from a principle of charity." So also it is with wars of defense for country or church, he argues, then gives this own peculiar solution as follows: "Since then charity, with respect to its origin, consists in good-will, and good-will resides in the internal man, it is plain that when a man possessed of charity resists an enemy, punishes the guilty, and chastises the wicked, he effects this by means of the external man, and consequently, when he has affected it, he returns into the charity which is the ⁱⁿ external man, and then as far as he is able, or as far as it is expedient, wishes well to him whom he has punished or chastised, and from a principle of good-will does him good."¹

A French writer wrestles with this same intensely tragic mental situation at the opening of the present war, and, like thousands of others under the stress of such harrowing situations, despairs of a solution. After narrating the story of a French mayor in Alsace who had shown, according to the despatches, the utmost magnanimity toward German soldiers from whose alleged barbarity his own family had according to the story suffered terribly, the writer exclaims, "That is the divine vengeance of Christ on the barbarians. Nevertheless, let us not forget that we are at war, and that in order to survive the frightful shock, -- for it will be that, -- of the German masses, it will be necessary to apply the law of retaliation: eye for eye, tooth for tooth. That a municipal Magistrate, representing the civil element of the country, should conduct himself with an abnegation almost superhuman, that will be to the eternal glory of France. But if the Prussians continue to extermi-

¹ "The True Christian Religion." Ch. VII, pp. 443--444.

nate prisoners of war, the wounded, aged persons, women and children, the Darwinian law of the survival of the strongest demands that our army apply to the enemy the penalty of the law of retaliation."¹

¹ "Le Cri," (A little French war sheet published in London,) August 21, 1914.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL TRAITS OF PASSIVE RESISTANTS.

Professor Ross has shown, in his "Social Control", the psychological foundations of social order. The "natural order", as explained in his discussion, is founded on sympathy, sociability, the sense of justice, and resentment. This natural order is elaborated into a true social order by means of the association of contemporaries and the overlapping of generations. As a result of these processes there emerge the personal ideals and the social mind which characterize the more highly civilized communities of men. It is apparent that this analysis strikes to the roots of our present problem. Sympathy, sociability, sense of justice, resentment--these words form the very atmosphere of the world in which passive resistance has its being. The type of reaction we are seeking to understand must be shown in its relation to these fundamental aspects of human conduct before we may know whether the non-resistant represents a new order of humanity, or simply ordinary irascible human nature dominated by a set of motives that either inhibit the instinctive reactions or raise the whole life to a higher level. Before attempting to answer this question let us notice the social role played by the four traits mentioned above, following closely the account of Professor Ross.

Sympathy, beginning in the reproductive function, and developed in the family circle, favored selection and survival in proportion as group life displaced the more single-handed struggle for existence. But in our vast, complex societies, which harbor glaring inequalities, sympathy alone cannot be depended upon to produce a truly social conduct, because relations between men become more impersonal and transient, and consequently the demand is for reliable conduct in situations where the

impulse to friendly aid based on fellow-feeling is entirely absent.

Sociability is allied to the gregarious instinct found in certain animal species and in primitive, backward races of men. Civilized man shows least of it. Reason has replaced instinct with him, and his motives for union with his fellows are economic rather than ethical. Consequently almost all the organizations of modern society are due to interlacing interests rather than to the charm of like for like. This is shown in our Western love of fighting, the existence of an hereditary criminal class, preference for isolated dwellings and dislike of indiscriminate physical contact, thirst for personal immortality, and our cult of nature-love and solitude. His conclusion is that sociability is not the basis of social order, but it fosters the tolerant disposition and lessens the friction of all forms of purposive association.

It should be observed that the significant thing here is that the races of men who are governed least by sympathy and pure sociability are precisely those Teutonic races to whom practically all the modern non-resistant sects belong. In other words, this peculiar phenomenon of peace and the suppression of violent reaction manifests itself, not among docile savages or the sociable, sympathetic South Europeans, but among the relatively unsociable and calculating men of Northern Europe.

Professor Ross next shows that it is precisely these "great conquering, civilizing races" who have, at least in their earlier history, "shown themselves possessed of a healthy sense of justice".¹ This he finds to be due to "a certain love of fair play". "In the sense of fair play, we detect the first superior endowment of the Teutonic peoples for social order. While the long-skulled blond of central and northwestern Europe is mediocre in power of sympathy and weak in

ability, he is strong in that most important of political aptitudes--will to justice".¹ This is connected, he finds, with a power oflection and self-control which underlies both the sense of justice and Teutonic, and even the Puritan, conscience. The sense of justice is one to abide by the rules of the game, whatever they may be, but it is impotent to frame the laws that determine the relative positions of contestants. "Such a frame of mind can sustain but cannot generate social order."²

A motive force supplementary to the other three is found in the individual's reaction. Sympathy, sociability, and the sense of justice, Professor Ross points out, moral sentiments of the person acting. A fourth factor is the resentment of the person acted upon. Here we strike the root of the problem of this essay. The question of passive resistance, as we have seen from the very beginning, is a question of individual reaction. As such we have examined its program and the grounds which the passive resister justifies and directs his course. The question now arises, is the non-resister lacking in resentment? Are the instincts that lead other men to retaliate not present in this type of humanity? If present, by what kind of a process are they suppressed, diverted into channels so different as to make him at once the object of the commiseration, ridicule, admiration and envy of mankind? The answer to the first question must be sought in two ways: First, by an examination of the nature of resentment; and, Second, by an appeal to the actual conduct of passive resisters as recorded in history.

As Ross³, Westermarck⁴, and others have shown, resentment is an instinctive protective reaction, a reflex that is built up in the species

¹Ibid., p.32. ² Ibid., p.35. ³ Ibid.

⁴"The Essence of Revenge", by E. Westermarck, in "Mind", Vol.VII, New Series, 289-310. (1898)

by natural selection. In the merely brute struggles that are constantly being waged on the lower reaches of existence, the creature that fails to react toward aggression by some defensive operation, either counter-attack, concealment, or flight, is promptly destroyed, leaves no descendants, and is eliminated from the race. Westermarck traces a long chain of evolution in which "there is no missing link. Protective reflex action, anger without intention to cause suffering, anger with such an intention, more deliberate resentment or revenge—all these phenomena are so inseparably connected with each other that no one can say whether one passes into another".¹

Professor Ross takes up the argument at this point and shows the social consequences of this biological product. "Resentment", he observes, "in its lower forms is an instinct; but in its higher forms it is simply the egoistic side of the sense of injustice. The more one recoils from doing an unjust action, the more he resents suffering such an action. On its altruistic side, the sense of justice lessens aggression by inspiring respect for the claims of others. On its egoistic side, it lessens aggression by prompting to the energetic assertion of one's own claims. Resentment is, therefore a moral quality,—elementary, no doubt, but not without its value."² But, as Professor Ross proceeds to show, and as Lombroso likewise observes in the passage quoted above, the attempt to remedy violence by counter-violence leads not only to constant disorder, but to an entailed hatred which, in the form of private warfare, vendetta, and feud, ever tends to compound its interest until the very stability of the social order is threatened. Then the State interposes and gradually extends its functions from mediator to umpire and finally to the role of sole guardian of peace and order.

¹ Op. cit., p. 297

² Op. cit., p. 37.

Now it would be unnecessary to argue that non-resistants are equipped the same instinctive capacity for resentment and revenge as are all men if certain hostile writers did not assume the contrary. The fact that the phenomenon in its best developed form has appeared among most aggressive races would carry with it the assumption that these men of peace bear within their own beings the capacity for vigorous warfare. A further consideration is that the non-resistance of these Western nations falls within the Christian era, which is a negligible period of time for the purposes of biological evolution. This should dis-
 peremtorily the notion that non-resistants are fundamentally different in nature from the mass of their fellows. The typical non-resistant himself would very promptly inform one that it is by no means a matter of breed but a work of grace. And, in a strictly scientific sense this is so—that is to say, it is a matter of ideas, and of an inward, spiritual experience.

But, while thus equipped with all the physiological machinery of active resentment, modified and controlled, to be sure, by a special set of ideas, there is still room to inquire whether the passive resistant belongs to this or that social class, or psychological type. Patten, Giddings, and others have distinguished various "original differences in population"¹, based on the predominance of different emotional and intellectual elements. There can be little doubt that the typical non-resistant belongs to the psychological type called stalwart by Patten, and austere by Giddings. The Dunkers represent in some respects the extreme wing of English Puritanism, a leading stalwart species; and the Dunkers, who may be taken as representative of the German peace sects, are described by Professor Gillan as austere, deductive and domineering. "Deeply religious, the Dunkers are not so rationally conscientious, but rather the austere type of character."²

See the discussion under the above title in Ross: "Foundations of Sociology" pp. 220-222. 2 "The Dunkers: A Sociological Interpretation" p. 10.

Professor Ross sums up the characteristics of the stalwart in a paragraph which may be applied, with the exception of the clause in parenthesis, to passive resisters as a whole, without serious injustice. Termed stalwart from his fidelity to abstract principles, "in religion the stalwart makes fetish of creed, and prides himself on his orthodoxy. His morality is aesthetic, a series of 'thou shalt not's'. In politics he is democratic and Utopian. In industry he is thrifty but not adventurous. The stalwart is a missionary for the cause he believes in, (and (if able), crushes whom he cannot convert.) He is independent and dislikes middle-men, whether in trade, in politics, or in religion. He is zealous for the Bible, the Constitution, the moral law, but reads into them his own ideals."¹

Professor Ross mentions the Puritans, Presbyterians and Quakers as examples, but it is clear that the Quaker, and all other passive resisters must be excepted from the imputed propensity to crush those who do not embrace their teachings. It is to the eternal glory of all these sects that they never, in an age of almost universal intolerance, stained their hands with persecution in any way or degree. The same cannot be said for any other branch of the Christian church, either Roman Catholic, Lutheran, or Calvinistic, with the single exception of the Zwinglian Reformers and the modern Baptists.² The passive resister of the highest type passes over into the class called by Professor Giddings, the Critical-intellectual, "marked by breadth and balance, clear perceptions, sound judgment, careful reasoning, and critical thinking". Yet in the main he "has fixed beliefs determined not from without, but by his emotions and temperament. He reasons deductively from premises he has accepted on trust".³

¹ Op. cit., p. 300.

² Cf. Lecky, "Hist. of Rationalism in Europe", Vol. II pp. 46-51; Mac Kinnon, "History of Modern Liberty", Vol. III, pp. 469-476.

³ Ross: "Foundations", p. 303.

This idea that the dogmatic-emotional type of man is determined in his view of the world by his emotions and temperament, suggests the thought that the conditions in Europe during the Reformation period may have worked, by a process of social sifting, to gather together men of this austere type into two great groups. The passive resisters were simply that wing who added to their zeal for religious truth an equally profound abhorrence for all attempts to disseminate ideas by deeds of violence, whether individual or collective. This idea, and ideal, they got not from tradition primarily, nor by a process of reasoning, but directly from the New Testament. Having embraced the principle, they later found it sanctioned by precedent, in so far as the history of passive resistance was known to them, and supported by a rational view of human life. Bax, as has been shown, thinks that political oppression and despair strengthened the tendency, and Veblen's reasoning¹ establishes the assumption that all these motives would find the most favorable response in the men of the lower middle and laboring classes. This is because, as Veblen shows, the aristocratic, leisure class is essentially predatory in its instincts, while the industrial classes tend to revert to the earlier, more peaceable disposition that characterizes men in the more primitive societies. The history of the Peasants' War, as described in an earlier chapter, amply corroborates these distinctions concerning the superior blood-thirstiness of the ruling classes. Therefore, in view of all these considerations, it may not be entirely without social significance that the great body of passive resisters were actually drawn from the more peaceable, industrial lower-class levels. There are notable exceptions, however, in the case of Zinsendorf, Schwenkfeld, Penn and others, and it would be very easy to be misled by ^{see instances} ~~this idea~~.

After all allowance is made for racial, social, and temperamental factors, the one great fact that stands out is that the passive resisters

1 "The Theory of the Leisure Class", by Thorstein Veblen

an ordinary mortal with an extraordinary idea and animated by an uncommon spirit. Passive resistance is a peculiar attitude toward life which springs from a definite conviction that violence is absolutely wrong, and this attitude is supported by certain powerful religious and moral qualities to which we must now direct attention.

Resentment.

It will be recalled that Warren says of Buddha, "Anger....had no place in his character", and "his epithet for one of whom he disapproved was merely 'vain man'".¹ Bigg refers more than once to the "docile" temper of Marcus Aurelius. His persecutions the same author attributes to his "harsh creed", and believes he would have been a better man if he had had no philosophy at all and simply followed.....the guidance of his own excellent disposition.² Kriebel, in speaking of the last days of Caspar Schwenkfeld in life-long exile for conscience' sake, says that his soul was "calm, peaceful and at rest. No undercurrent or eddy of ill-will, hatred or revenge to others disturbed the surface, and the grace of heaven was reflected from his entire being."³ The Stoics, as well as the Buddhists, are constantly teaching the folly and sin of anger. All these considerations would tend to corroborate a popular impression that non-resistants are of a peculiarly mild and gentle disposition. If "disposition" is taken to mean mental habit and attitude of will maintained, the popular view is correct. But if it is taken to mean the absence of irascible qualities the idea is false. Doubtless the tendency toward resentment and violence is found in some persons and types in more marked degree than in others. MacKinnon, speaking of the persecutions of "Bloody Mary" of England, says, "There was....in Mary, as in her father, a vein of vindictive cruelty, which, saw, in disobedience to her will, one of the blackest of crimes. The Marian persecution was the outcome of the Tudor imperiousness as well as of religious fanaticism."⁴

¹"Buddhism in Translations", p.1. ²Intro. to Jackson's "Marcus Aurelius", p. 5-6. ³See Schwenkfelders in Ps. "nn 5-6. ⁴op.cit. III:p.322

his characterization serves to bring out by contrast the totally different spirit found in the great non-resistants mentioned above. It is the difference between bitter animosity and strife on the one hand and the rectness of good-will and peace on the other. Yet even here we must not suffer ourselves to be misled. The representatives of these two contrasted types are probably equipped with very much the same endowment as to physical and mental constitution. The difference between them is one of the dominating ideas and motives that rule the life. The stress laid by non-resistants on the duty and wisdom of suppressing anger points in that direction.

The fact is that passive resistants, especially in cases where the moral aspects of the situation seem to admit of "righteous indignation", have shown themselves by no means lacking in healthy and vigorous resentment. The famous controversy between the Quakers and the Puritans of Massachusetts offers an excellent illustration. The Quakers who came to Massachusetts felt that they had a special message to the Puritans. The latter clapped the first party of Friends into prison, later banished them from the colony, and when they, along with others, persisted in returning time after time, the Puritans were forced by their own earlier threats and promises to execute the unwelcome visitants, both men and women. The Quakers suffered cruelly at the hands of their opponents, but the harrowing story of these two conflicting devotions to honest conviction need not be rehearsed here. The account must bring a wave of indignation even yet to every reader of that cruel barbarity toward innocent, even if misguided, men and women, but the point to be made just now is that the Quakers, with all their meek and patient suffering, showed themselves capable as a class of a very strong and enduring resentment.

In the duel that raged for several bitter years between the

er and the Puritan, is exhibited a contest between two peoples equally
 ere, equally spirited, but who chanced to belong to "two different
 ritual empires". It would be interesting to examine the theological
 nds of that difference, but attention must be steadily centered upon
 psychological traits, rather than the theological beliefs, of those
 -handed but utterly fearless men and women who persisted in going up,
 hey put it, "to look the bloody laws (of the Puritan) in the face."
 he single word that is permitted here we may say with Jones, from whom
 above passages are quoted, that the essential difference between these
 immovable opponents was that "the central truth on which the Quaker
 that period staked his faith and to which he pledged his life, was the
 sence of a Divine Light in the soul".¹ But as John Fiske clearly states
 this "ideal of the Quakers was flatly antagonistic to that of the set-
 rs of Massachusetts. The Christianity of the former was freed from
 aism as far as was possible; the Christianity of the latter was heavily
 umbered with Judaism."² In this conflict between the Old Covenant and
 ew, the Quaker followers of the latter had come in the name of a
 ritual empire from which the rule of coercion, violence and persecution
 been cast out forever. The legalistic Puritan still clung to those
 parting ways of barbarism. In this respect, Puritan and Quaker were ages
 art; in all other respects they were alike—of the same race, people,
 perament, and moral purpose. When they confronted one another it was by
 means the man of iron and strong aggression against a cringing, negative
 ing, purged of the moral fiber that makes for resentment, lofty indignation
 vigorous aggression. It was rather the clashing of steel on steel,
 ough the one opponent faced the conflict with no weapon save the sword

¹"The Quakers in the Am. Col's.", p. 32

²"Dutch and Quaker Colonies", Vol. II, p. 112. Quoted by Jones, op.cit., p. 35

truth as he conceived it.

The first Quakers who braved the Puritan wrath were women, and for a woman suffered a fearless martyrdom on Boston Common for her persistence. It is impossible, and also unnecessary, to rehearse the details of that long and grim contest with its whippings, ear-croppings, brandings, imprisonments, and hangings. The point to be made is that the Quakers did resent as well as endure their cruel persecutions. Among the "sneering books and hellish pamphlets" which the Puritan guardians of orthodoxy always made frantic haste to seize, along with the other effects of the Quaker's, was one by Humphrey Norton called "New England's Ensign". Its vigorous title-page runs: "It being the account of Cruelty, the professor's pride and the articles of their faith signified in characters written in blood, etc. This being an account of the sufferings sustained by the Quakers in New England (with the Dutch) the most part of it in these last years 1657, 1658. Written at sea by us whom the wicked in scorn call Quakers in the second month of the year 1659."¹

The Quaker knew when he was outrageously treated and reacted with spirit toward his persecutors. But the extraordinary thing is that his reaction was infinitely removed above that blind rage against the immediate agent or instrument which marks the wrath of primitive men² and still largely colors the reaction of the great mass of even the most highly civilized legal resisters. The bearing of the Friends in the midst of their sufferings, fearless and unflinching as it was, never partook of the spirit of personal animosity. They never recanted, they never reviled, but they sometimes spoke the truth, as they saw it, with cutting sharpness. In so doing they maintained the impersonal level of moral indignation, and directed their criticisms against the authority or the source from which

the evil flowed. Nicholas Upsall was fined "for reproaching the honoured magistrates" to their faces, at the time of the Puritan propaganda against the Quakers, when he turned from the ranks of the persecutor to become a defender of the persecuted. John Rous, a Quaker, visited the church in which John Norton, the clerical leader of the Puritan anti-Quaker campaign, was preaching, "who," says Rous, "like a babbling Pharisee, ran over a vain repetition near an hour long. When his glass was out he began his sermon, wherein, among many lifeless expressions, he spake much of the danger of those called Quakers, a flood of gall and vinegar instead of the cup of cold and refreshing water!"¹

It was an age of plain speech. Roger Williams, the grand "apostle of soul liberty", and George Fox, the apostle of peace, exchanged pamphlets, in which the Baptist entitled his theological effort, "George Fox Dugged Out of His Burrows", and the Quaker styled his equally vigorous rejoinder, "A New England Fire-brand Quenched". These two characteristics of moral indignation and unvarnished speaking are combined in a work published in 1661 by George Bishop, a Rhode Island Quaker. Under the title "New England Judged", he sets forth in accusing array the long list of atrocities committed against the Quakers by their New England opponents. The Puritan had occasion to wince under this sustained and truly radical form of resentment, which did not spend itself in the blind fury of physical violence or personal vituperation, but, taking time to gather its waters, came pouring forth at last as a flood of overwhelming fact and all-penetrating truth. Moreover, such Quaker resentment was directed always to the ear of public opinion and social control. This time it did not fail of its object. King Charles II. read Bishop's book, and in the end Samuel Shattuck, a Salem Quaker who had been banished from Massachusetts on pain of death, returned with all speed as the royal messenger, bearing the

¹ Jones op.cit., p.71.

command that ended forever the reign of bloody persecution in New England!¹

The essential kinship of the passive resistant to our common humanity appears in the evident relish with which the Quakers applied the lash when doubly reassured by the righteousness of their cause and the non-physical character of the means employed. Gummere says: "Certainly the Quakers were never guilty of any violence, although, as Dr. Ellis remarks, 'there was good cause for dreading their sharp tongues'".² The governor of the Barbadoes said that "as for Friends' lives.....they were inoffensive and unblameable, but their judging of others he could not bear".³ Jones powerfully sums up the matter when he says: "They could be as tender as a woman toward any types of men who were low down, hard pressed and sore bestead, but they were relentless against what they called 'hireling ministry'. They used very vivid phrases to describe it, and they were as intolerant of it as the writer of Deuteronomy had been of the idolatry of his day. They hewed it as fiercely as Samuel had hewed Agag."⁴

Aggressiveness.

Thus far the attempt has been to view the passive resistant on the defensive, but the tendency of the thought, especially in the last paragraph, has been to pass over into the aggressive aspects. It would be a grievous mistake to suppose that the Quaker, or any other passive resistant, follows the line of least resistance. This Jones declares to be precisely the thing which the Friends did not do. A few incidents from Quaker history will serve to make this evident.

The career of William Penn is so uniquely identified with the idea of gentleness and peace that it is of especial interest to notice in his character the aggressive qualities that probably would have insured his success even as a man of war, just as they did in the case of his own

¹ See the vivid account by Jones, op.cit., ch.V. Also Whittier's poem "The King's Missive". ² "The Quaker in the Forum", p.63.

³ Jones, op.cit., p.42. ⁴ Ibid., p. 36.

ther, an efficient Admiral of the British navy. It was not their difference in nature, but the unlikeness of their spiritual experiences, that made the father a warrior and the son the world's greatest man of peace. President Sharpless, in speaking of Penn's traits says: "There was, too, in his composition a good share of fighting spirit. He was to have difficulties, but he never quailed. The temper which declared that he would never yield a jot, even though he died in prison, served him in good stead in his contests. 'Can my wicked enemies yet bow? They shall, or break, or be broken in pieces before a year from this time comes about, and my true friends rejoice,' he declared in a crisis with Lord Baltimore. 'If mitives will not do, coercives must be tried', he announced in another emergency."¹

Dr. Jessopp has given a very entertaining account² of the encounter of the Quakers, and of William Penn in particular, with Ludowick Muggleton and his followers. Among all the queer fanatics of a fanatical period Muggleton was the most curious specimen. A vulgar-speaking, blasphemous bigot, who believed himself commissioned with divine authority from God to formally consign to hell's torments every soul that displeased him, the most charitable, and only reasonable, conclusion is that he was simply a religious monomaniac at large. Jessopp's own account shows Muggleton to be absolutely without moral purpose, hence Jessopp's error in treating the Quakers and Muggletonians under exactly the same categories is the more grave from the standpoint of correct historical interpretation. But the world knows that no movement in history has ever ^{surpassed} ~~exceeded~~ that of Quakerism in moral purpose, earnestness and power, whatever defects it may have disclosed.

¹ Jones: "Quakers in the Am. Colonies", pp. 431-432.

² In "The Coming of the Friars and Other Historic Essays", by the Rev. Augustus Jessopp, D.D., Hon. Canon in Norwich Cathedral, etc. Essay VII. "The Pronhet of Walnut-Tree Yard".

In the light of these considerations it is really a pity that William Penn should have been drawn into controversy with the poor deluded "prophet of Walnut-Tree Yard". Yet the fact is that Penn visited him several times for the purpose of the theological controversy so dear to that generation. Finally, according to Dr. Jessopp, Muggleton felt moved to solemnly damn a certain leading Quaker, who, being in failing health at the time, died a few days after the sentence was pronounced. "The Muggletonian's were jubilant", continues Jessopp's account, and some of the Quakers were disturbed and alarmed. Penn's heart was moved within him, and with all the fervid indignation of youth he stepped forward to draw the sword of the Lord. He printed a letter to Muggleton which should reassure the waverers. It thundered out defiance. 'Boast not', he says, 'thou enemy of God, thou son of perdition and confederate with the unclean croaking spirits reserved under chains to eternal darkness. I boldly challenge thee with thy six-foot God¹ and all the host of Luciferian spirits, with all your commissions, curses, and sentences, to touch and hurt me. And this know, O Muggleton: on you I trample, and to the bottomless pit are you sentenced, from whence you came, and where the endless worm shall gnaw and torture your imaginary soul."²

This is certainly vigorous, even shamefully denunciatory, but, since Dr. Jessopp does not cite his authority, we are compelled to discredit the details to some extent, while preserving the essential point which it illustrates. Penn reported the conversation himself, and this would seem to be the most authentic source of our knowledge of the

¹ Muggleton claimed to know the exact appearance of the Divine Being, who, he declared, was in the form of a man a little taller than Penn. See Penn's account, cited below.

² Jessopp, op. cit., pp. 332-333.

fair. He says: "I have been twice to visit Lodowick Muggleton, and each time I staid too long to repeat all, or the very Words which passed betwixt us; yet shall I faithfully write something of the Matter and Words, as near as I at present do remember them." From this account it appears that Penn did not take it upon himself to counter-damn Muggleton, as Jessopp reports it, but simply declared: "Thou and thy God shall go all to the Pit, from whence ye came, where is Death and Darkness for ever. I forgive thee; thereby thou may'st know the Difference betwixt our Gods, and our Religions; thou revilest, and passest Curses upon me, I freely forgive thee." He concludes by exhorting the reader to "mind the Light, the Grace, the Gift of God" in the heart, by obedience which the faithful shall "possess the Habitations of true Peace, when Muggleton and his obstinate Brats shall howl in the Lake that burns with brimstone and Fire for ever and evermore".¹ While the extreme presumption ascribed to Penn in Jessopp's account is not sustained, there is evident from his own report a capacity in the youthful Quaker for strong indignation and even violently aggressive speech.

In 1657 the Massachusetts authorities appealed, through the Commissioners for the United Colonies, to the authorities of Rhode Island, exhorting them to expel the Quakers, who had settled under the liberal Baptist regime in the latter colony. The Puritans plead to be freed from the danger of "contagion" from "such a pest". In their noble and dignified reply the rulers of Rhode Island drop this little observation on Quaker psychology: "We find that in those places where these people aforesaid in this Colony are most of all suffered to declare themselves freely, and are only opposed by arguments in discourse, there they least of all desire to come." Jones goes on to say with truth that

¹ See "A Collection of the Works of William Penn", etc. London, 1726 Vol. II., pp. 169-170

"this was, however, not because they liked opposition and enjoyed a fight, but because they believed that they had come over to America under a commission from the Most High to sow their seed of truth in the soil of Massachusetts."¹ The whippings, finings, ear-croppings, brandings, etc., inflicted in Massachusetts only increased the number of these unwelcome visitors. "When John Rous and Humphrey Norton heard of William Brend's terrible sufferings, they started at once for Boston... because they could not eat or sleep for their desire to bear their part with the prisoners of hope, for a testimony of Jesus'".² Gummere thinks that "righteous indignation at the increasing intolerance of those who first came out to Massachusetts with the meekness of martyrs, no doubt led the pioneer women, Mary Fisher and Anna Austen, to the Bay."³ This is clearly a case of resentment but it passes into aggression, and is not out of order here.

At this stage the Quaker founder, George Fox, himself languishing in Launceston Prison, England, sounded forth a trumpet call that cannot fail to thrill the heart of every lover of a good fight for righteousness and truth. Fox calls to his followers: "Let all nations hear the sound by word or writing. Spare no place, spare no tongue nor pen, but be obedient to the Lord God; go through the work; be valiant for the truth upon earth; and tread and trample upon all that is contrary."⁴

The heroic soldiers of peace rallied to these trumpet tones and pressed the battle to the very gates of Puritanism. They were really the aggressors from the start. The Puritans could have desired nothing more devoutly than to be left alone. They had built up their wall of

1 Ibid., p. 56.

2 Ibid., p. 76

3 Op. cit., p 44. Italics mine.

4 Ibid., p. 78.

hodoxy and claimed the right to rule without molestation behind it. their dream was not to be realized. "Two days after Ann Austin Mary Fisher, without bedding and without Bibles, sailed out of ton harbour, that is, August 7th, 1656, a ship carrying eight Quakers--tty hearts, the blessing of the Lord with them and His dread going ore them'--sailed in".¹

Wenlock Christison, banished earlier on pain of death, "returned Boston and suddenly appeared before the Court, precisely as they were noncing sentence of death on William Ledra! The magistrates were ruck with a great damp' when they saw another man 'unconcerned for life come to trample under the law of Death.' 'For a little space of e, there was silence in the Court, but recovering from the swoon, one the Court cried out, 'Here is another, fetch him to the bar.'"² In course of his examination Christison fairly expressed the situation m he declared: "Note my words: Do not think to weary out the living l by taking away the lives of His servants. What do you gain by it? : the last man you put to death, here are five come in his room."³ e Puritans, harassed and cornered, did everything in their power to ape the final bitter convulsion of their own logic, and escape from mining their hands with blood. They banished the Friends, particularly e women, over and over. Mary Dyer in particular was banished, reprieved d rebanished, and finally offered her life on the gallows, but "she abhorably refused to accept her life, if the law was still to remain ainst 'the suffering seed'".⁴ To people like this there is no per- exity about a "moral substitute for war". Recent writers have improved Professor James by substituting social reforms for his conquest of

Ibid., p. 36.

2 Ibid., p. 95.

3 Ibid., p. 97

Ibid., p. 86.

nature as the best field for the exercise of the aggressive and self-sacrificing qualities of humanity when war shall be no more. It is simply observed here in passing that the Quakers had found it when they first opened the modern crusade against war.

Courage.

The next trait of passive resistant psychology has already abundantly appeared. A whole chapter could easily be given to the bare enumeration of examples of the extraordinary courage of the meek who refuse to fight, yet cannot be hired to run away. If it be objected that we are being misled in this by the frenzied callousness to danger and suffering which is characteristic of the self-centered fanatic, the answer is two-fold: First, the thirst for martyrdom which, under the laws of crowd psychology and mob mind, has marked the history of persecutions, is not essentially different from the super-personal, corporate, group-courage and devotion which, by the same laws, comes to be infused throughout an army. Second, the examples upon which this present argument depends are taken from comparatively isolated experiences of men who stood undaunted apart from the excitement and enthusiasm of numbers. A cool and yet fierce courage is manifested in the case of Josiah Southmick. He returned from banishment in 1661, and at once, with what Jones calls "almost excessive Quaker frankness", "appeared before the authorities and announced his return to this country. He was..... whipped through Boston, Roxbury, and Dedham, and then carried fifteen miles and left in the wilderness. The next morning he fearlessly returned to his home in Salem, having told his torturers that he cared no more for what they could do to him than for a feather blown in the air". The same writer says that it was

William Leddra's brave manner", as well as his "saintly bearing", that so impressed the Puritan magistrates that Governor Endicott was long prevented, by a division in the court, from getting a capital sentence.¹

One of the finest examples of cool courage coupled with refusal to fight occurs in connection with the career of John Wesley. The founder of Methodism was not a non-resistant in any sense as regards either the instabulary or war, for he appealed to the courts and took pride in the good military reputation of the Methodist soldiers.² But he shared the universal feeling that personal retaliation is incompatible with the Christian religion, and he enjoined non-resistance to the mobs with which the Methodist street preachers had to contend, as the wisest policy that could be pursued. His biographer exclaims: "certainly it is not superstition to find something supernatural in the religion which enabled these humble Methodists to bear with such patience the indignities to which they were subjected. For these men were not cowards. Most of them came from that tough English peasant class which, since the days of Robin Hood down, has always been able to give a good account of itself wherever any fighting is to be done".³ The thoroughly peaceable Quakers, by the way, were of the same identical stuff.) The following incident in the life of one of these non-resistant itinerant preachers of Methodism, shows the kind of courage that may go with non-resistance even when it is sustained, not by fanatical frenzy, or the mob psychology of the battle-field, but simply by an enlightened zeal for a moral cause. "Thomas Olivers, on his big bay horse,—which he used proudly to say had carried him over a hundred thousand miles,—when surrounded by a mob in Yarmouth, pushed his way down one of the narrow 'rows' to a main street, and then, disdaining to put spurs to his

¹ Ibid., pp. 103 and 96.

² See "The Life of John Wesley", by C. T. Winchester (1906), p. 140.

³ Ibid., pp. 139-140.

horse and fly from the howling crowd, dodging the sticks and stones thrown at him, walked his horse deliberately down the street and made as he says, 'a very orderly retreat'.¹ Wesley himself came in contact with the Moravians on his voyage to America and was much influenced by them. He records in his "Journal" a very interesting observation on his very question of non-resistance and courage, as follows: "Every day had given them an occasion of showing a meekness, which no injury could move. If they were pushed, struck, or thrown down, they rose again and went away; but no complaint was found in their mouth. There was now an opportunity of trying whether they were delivered from the spirit of fear, as well as from that of pride, anger and revenge.

"In the midst of the psalm wherewith their service began, the sea broke over, split the mainsail in pieces, covered the ship, and poured in between the decks, as if the great deep had already swallowed us up. A terrible screaming began among the English. The Germans calmly sung on. I asked one of them afterwards, 'Was you not afraid?' He answered, 'I thank God, no.' I asked, 'But were not your women and children afraid?' He replied mildly, 'No; our women and children are not afraid to die.'"²

Enough has been said to show that lack of physical courage is not an essential element in passive resistance and illustrations could be multiplied indefinitely. It is now proposed to go farther and maintain that the courage of the true passive resistant is superior to that of men of violence. As the new functional psychology teaches, the very act of resistance would tend to magnify the accompanying emotions of courage and pugnacity, just as the very act of fleeing stimulates fear and the negative emotions. In other words, the aggressive act causes

¹ Ibid., pp. 128-129.

² "The Heart of John Wesley's Journal", by Percy Livingstone Parker (Editor) p.7.

courage more than courage causes the aggressive act. In the light of this theory the superb courage and fortitude of the passive resistant is doubly evident, inasmuch as he has to face danger and even destruction, often by unspeakable tortures, without resorting to those physical acts of resistance by which courage and the kindred stimulating emotions are aroused in the ordinary man. Thus the courage of the one is physical and instinctive. His courage rises automatically as the appropriate physiological processes which go with combat secrete their flow of bile and bravery.¹ This type of courage is instinctive, and the present European war has shown that it is the endowment of a large portion of humanity.

But the courage of the passive resistant is a moral courage, whether it nerve him to endure the physical agonies of the stake, or boldly to face the "contradiction of sinners" in the form of popular disapproval. Many a man who will march boldly up to the cannon's mouth can not endure the sidelong glance of gossip, much less to lift his voice boldly against the vested and emblazoned errors of his generation. No one who has the least appreciation of the tremendous atmospheric pressure of custom and tradition, rendering, as it does, millions of men mere reeds shaken in the wind, can fail to wonder and admire at the sublime intellectual courage of those spiritual reformers who had the courage of soul to throw off the yoke of tradition, custom, prestige, antiquity, public opinion, governmental authority, and all the vast net-work of social control which a thousand years and more had spun around the lives of men. They had the amazing courage to pronounce the whole structure rotten at the core, and they declared unrelenting warfare against it. The following passage

¹ Modern biology has discovered that in physical and mental stresses certain glands pour forth secretions which not only produce the bristling mane of animals, and the fierce aspects of hostility in man, but make a supreme physical effort possible.

from "The Mystery of the Great Whore", written by the Quaker, Edward Burrough, is quoted by Jones in his "Spiritual Reformers in the 16th. and 17th. Centuries." It shows how completely those world-stirring men had got loose from the comfortable assurances which flow from acquiescence in the sanctioned and "saving" system of one's times, and how utterly they trusted the leadings of the Light within. "As for the ministry, first, looking upon it with a single eye in the Light of the Spirit of God which had anointed us, we beheld it clearly not to be of Christ, nor of Him, nor having the commission, power, and authority of Christ, as a ministry had in the days of the true churches; but in all things, as we call, practice, maintenance, and everything else, in fruits and effects we found it to disagree, and be wholly contrary to the true ministry of Christ in the days of the apostles. As for all churches (so called), we beheld you all in the apostacy and degeneration from the true Church. All the practices of religion we beheld to be without power and life."

It is hard for a modern mind to appreciate the sheer audacity of courage involved in this calm but merciless sweeping of whole theological and sacerdotal world into the pit, even after due allowance is made for the self-assurance of religious fanaticism. Burrough was no fire-eater even at worst. Simply a tremendously aroused Englishman who uttered the deep revolt that was in him, and devoted his life, through fearless labour and suffering meekness, to his testimony. He belongs, along with any an unknown hero, to the "new roll of Civil Saints", which Justice Hotham proposed to begin with the name of Jacob Boehme. "The type of saint the Justice admires is one who refuses utterly to choose the path of least resistance, one who will not be 'a messenger of eternal happiness at a cheap rate', but rather one who comes to challenge the easy world, to fight evil customs and entrenched systems and to win the

Land which the Devil holds in possession'".¹

Universal Love.

It will be remembered that the first words of Buddha, after his long meditation under the sacred Bodhi-Tree, uttered the bliss that comes from "the loss of all pride that comes from the thought 'I am'". Many writers have pointed out this tendency of mystical experience to obliterate the boundaries of the private and essentially hostile Self. John Smith, the Cambridge Platonist, found, two thousand years after Buddha, that "in the calming illumination of this clarified vision, the good man, in whose soul religion had flowered, 'is no longer solicitous whether this or that good thing be mine'".² Thomas Traherne, an English mystic and poet of the Seventeenth Century, avers that "till you love men so as to desire their happiness with a thirst equal to the zeal of your own; till you delight in God for being good to all; you never enjoy the world".³ Professor Ross happily characterizes this experience of the mystic as "a genial expansion of self which will cause all private aims to disappear in a practical devotion to those whom he regards as his brother."⁴

We have chosen the expression Universal Love to designate the social aspect of this emotional expansion. It is a marked trait among all passive resistants, and they use the term themselves. Jemima Wilkinson, a minor communistic sectarian who seceded from the Quakers, bore blazoned on her travelling carriage the words, "The Universal Friend". The Douknobors spoke of themselves as "the Universal Brotherhood". A close observer of the Schwenkfelders speaks of them as "kind and beneficent to all". In short the passive-resistant has attained the level of a truly

¹ Jones, "Spiritual Reformers", p. 212. Durant Hotham and his brother Charles a lecturer at Cambridge, were English followers of the German mystic Jacob Boehme.

² Jones, op.cit., p. 315. ³ Ibid., p. 331. ⁴ "Social Control" p. 198

⁵ See Hinds, "American Communities".

humanitarian experience. In his motives, thoughts, and actions he simply anticipated by some thousands of years that ethical liberalization through which mankind are being gradually lifted from the bitter narrowness of untempered egoism and "patriotic" group selfishness to the sanity and breadth of a genuinely human point of view. This culminating achievement of social evolution, which the learned labors of the sociologist¹ enable him to foresee^{as} the final goal of ethics, was actually attained centuries ago by the unlettered sons of peace, and, stranger still, preserved by them through the agency of the sect, a social grouping which in many ways has been shown to be the very opposite of all that is broadly socializing and liberal in tendency.² We shall revert to this aspect in the concluding paragraphs of the chapter, but, for the present, attention must be directed to some less pleasant observations.

Contentiousness.

Of the traits thus far discussed, two, viz., Courage and Universal Love, are virtues distinctive of passive-resistants as such. Aggressiveness varies greatly from sect to sect among them, being especially marked in the Quaker type. Resentment, being a natural instinctive reaction, common to all normal human beings, is necessarily shared by all passive resistants in about equal proportions, but is usually transmuted into moral activities. Along with ordinary human nature there goes a capacity for contention by word and blow, which is the invariable concomitant of associated human beings. We simply inquire now whether or not these quiet little communities where the men of peace dwell together are ever disturbed by the ripples of clashing opinion, or do their still waters reflect always undimmed the depths of the heavenly tranquillity. Not at all. The beautiful story of Prince Dīrghāya was told to allay a factious

¹ Cf. Ward: "Pure Sociology", ch. XV.

² Cf. Ross: "Foundations of Sociology", pp. 135-137.

disturbance among the Buddhist monks. The New Testament speaks of "quarrels and fightings" among the Corinthian Christians, and ample provision is made for the settlement of quarrels between the members of the church.

The Dunkers are said by Gillin to be of a "domineering" disposition. As a consequence of this, their leaders have been men "who ruled by coercion rather than by their superior mental and moral qualities.... The principle set forth in Matthew 18:17, 'And if he will not hear the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican', has been the controlling principle in the thought of the Dunker church."¹ This phrase occurs so often in the minutes of the Annual Meeting as to become wearisome, in the opinion of Professor Gillin. He might have said the same concerning the references to "trouble in the local church". In at least one instance there comes up the rather ominous query whether a minister and some members of an irregular congregation should not fall into the hands of the brethren² of adjacent districts, as offenders, and be dealt with as such."

The Schwenkfelders were long deterred by internal disagreements, and still more by the fear of them, from forming an organization of their own in Pennsylvania. Their leader and minister, Balzer Hoffman, resigned his position twice because of "want of harmony" between himself and his brethren. A conference held in 1762, to consider the feasibility of a formal organization of the scattered Schwenkfelders, gave serious consideration to this remarkable query: "Will we be able to bear with one another, if a closer union is formed, so that what is undertaken may not be ended in strife and works of evil?" Kriebel says, however, that "the favorable answers given indicate plainly a decided departure from the

¹ Op. cit., p. 205.

² Italics mine.

position assumed by men of the type of Weiss and Hoffman, who had opposed organization. Christopher Schultz also had misgivings, which he voiced as follows: "The most serious question, indeed, with me is, whether at this time such a plan can continue to exist among us. Let us not flatter ourselves. For this purpose it is necessary that we place plainly before our minds the nature and marks of love as described by the Apostle Paul."¹

The Moravians seem to have felt that they retained a claim on the allegiance of the Schwenkfelders after the latter left Herrnhut for America. The matter was finally adjusted by time, so that the two sects came into their present and long-standing friendly relations. But the affair is recalled here in order to point out that Count Zinzendorf, noble follower of the Prince of Peace though he certainly was, showed himself capable of a very persistent contention for what he held to be his rights in the matter. Kriebel says that "Zinzendorf did not show the wisdom of a serpent nor the harmlessness of a dove in thus attacking a body of people so well spoken of as the Schwenkfelders." According to his report, "the count became quite wrathful, saying that he had power over them and that he would pray the Lord to cast them out of his mouth. He later applied to a magistrate for the enforcement of his "imagined power" over them, and "was continually making threats."²

It is not pleasant to record these things, and it is needless to say that they are not pointed out in any spirit of criticism. But we seek to know the exact truth concerning the traits of those who have maintained so nobly the difficult role of passive resistance. We find them handicapped, but also we may say re-enforced, with the same active propensities that spring into full and deadly fruitage in the lives of

¹ Op. cit., pp. 64-78.

² Ibid., pp. 113-114.

less devoted men. Passive resistants realize this to be true and their great point of difference from men of violence is that they deliberately fortify themselves against those temperamental outbursts which carry godless men into actions destructive toward others and ruinous to their own souls. In the "Constitution or Fundamental Principles of the Schwenkfelder Church, as Adopted in 1782",¹ after an enumeration of the various duties and obligations incumbent on the members, these significant words occur: "The practice and maintenance of such discipline and regulations will always have their temptations,since we all carry these by nature in our own bosoms".²

It would be erroneous to assume that the spirit and doings of the rank and file represent in every instance the true policy and spirit of passive resistance. "False brethren" grow up within, or creep privily into, every organization known to men. Every war has brought a sifting of the chaff from the wheat in all the bodies of passive resistants. Therefore it would not be strange to find the tares sprouting at all seasons. This is well shown in the published records of two Meetings of Friends in Virginia at the close of the Eighteenth century.³ A struggle between the pugnacious instincts of the average member and the high Quaker ideal of non-resistance and peace is strikingly evident in the long list of disownments. The fact that a healthy fund of contentiousness and pugnacity is often housed beneath drab-clad bosoms may be graphically shown by a simple compilation of the reasons assigned in the following cases, for disciplinary dealing or disownment. Out

1 Quoted in Kriebel, op. cit., pp. 74-77.

2 Italics mine.

3 "Our Quaker Friends of Ye Olden Time, being in part a transcript of the minute books of Cedar Creek Meeting, Hanover County, and the South River Meeting, Campbell County, Va.", by J. P. Bell (Compiler). 1905.

a total of eighty-nine separate minutes of disownment, between 1794 and 1813, in these two meetings, the following occur: "Using ill words, fighting, etc.--Using spirituous liquors to excess, also has engaged in military service--For fighting, swearing, and drinking-- For fighting, and using spirituous liquors-- For fighting, and spreading a report to the jury of his neighbor-- For being so far transported with passion as to utter some profane expression-- For fighting and laying a wager for gaming and military exercises-- For having allowed himself to be so transported with passion as to utter some unbecoming speeches and threatening expressions-- For enlisting in military service-- For enlisting himself as a soldier-- For laying wagers and using profane language-- For using profane language--Same--For attending and answering a military muster-- For attending military exercise and using profane language-- For being concerned in military services-- For using profane language, etc.-- For taking drink to excess, offering to fight, etc.-- For using profane language-- For using intoxicating liquors to excess and for fighting-- For being active in the performance of military service."

Out of twenty-eight "Letters of Confession and Condemnation", for the same period the following acknowledgements bearing on the problem before us are made. None of them apparently are duplications of the above. The writers express their sorrow for the following offenses

"Acted in a disorderly manner, in fighting-- Have given way to the spirit of resentment so far as to gratify that revengeful spirit by the putting forth of my hand to the dishonor of Truth--Being suddenly overtaken with passion to unguardedly beat a man--Having suffered(ed) the spirit of anger and resentment so to prevail as to procure fire-arms for my safety-- Been so far off my watch as to be guilty of abusive conduct towards a neighbor-- Behaved myself in a very unbecoming manner

to a Friend, both in words and action-- For fighting and seeking revenge-- For beating and abusing a man-- For procuring a substitute to serve in the Militia-- For the account of fighting."

One feels after reading this pathetic list almost as if he had entered the secret chambers where mortals, torn with the age-long conflict of War and Peace, the Flesh and the Spirit, wrestled with strong crying and tears for grace to tread the narrow Way that leads on to Light. The picture is that of dark and boisterous times, of rude manners and unredefined ideals in the mass of the populace, but we see at the same glance the Quaker Meeting as a center of sweetness and light, where the message of peace, forbearance, and good-will was never allowed to languish.

Sincerity.

Of all the traits characteristic of passive resistants none is more intimately, essentially, and inseparably a part of their life than sincerity, truth, and square dealing. The following chapter will show its relation to the success of the policy of passive resistance, so that it may be deferred for the present.

Minor Traits.

Like all sectarians, especially of the religious type, passive-resistants are dominated by the traditional attitude. The Amish Mennonites, to take but a single example, still sing the songs written by the Swiss Brethren in their prison cells in 1527, and which rehearse the experiences of obscure martyrs long forgotten by the world. Smith, their historian, says, "Nowhere else in America can one get so near to the spirit and customs of the common people of Switzerland and Germany of three hundred years ago as among Amish and some of the Mennonites of Pennsylvania".¹ All passive resistants have manifested a tendency to

¹ Op. cit., p. 389.

seek salvation in a somewhat narrow and otherworldly sense. Indeed, much of their splendid social service springs, in the last analysis, from such motives. In propagating their views they have shown a marked propensity for doctrinaire radicalism--the tendency to push doctrinal tenets to the last extreme of logical consistency regardless of cost. But all these things they simply share with all religious enthusiasts, especially those of sectarian and fanatical bent.

Professor Ross and others have fully shown the dangerous social tendencies that are fostered within the closed circle of the sect-- its magnifying of all the points of difference between those within and those without, and its intensification of the peculiarities which first drew the sectarians together as like draws like. Sheltered behind its excluding walls from the rude criticisms of the unenlightened, the sectarians find countenance in oneanother's approval. "Each now rises to the full stature of his eccentricity." This, and every other unlovely aspect of sectarian conduct, must be admitted into our portrayal of the psychological traits of passive resisters, but it suggests a corollary of the utmost significance: Suppose that the eccentricity, the peculiar tenet, which draws the sectarians together, consists in devotion to an ideal emanating from a religious teacher of transcendent genius, even if not of divine authority, and therefore manifests a perennial power to lift men to higher levels of thought and action than will be fostered or tolerated in the pushing, self-seeking life of the everyday world. In such a case the sect, which Professor Ross has already called a "social cell", becomes a whole ganglionic moral center, a point from which radiate stimuli to the whole social body. Or, changing the figure, it may be seen as a human laboratory, in which devoted Christian lives distil from the leaves of the tree of life, which John on Patmos saw, many a social

balm for the healing of the nations. This is exactly what has happened in the case of the passive-resistant sects. Holding, as a sacred and inviolable tradition, the words of peace and goodwill that fell from the lips of Jesus, and living in the power of that ideal life which rises imperishably wherever the New Testament writings are read and pondered, the humble sects described in these pages have been the first to enunciate, and the most fearless to maintain, ethical standards which have become, or are rapidly becoming, the accepted ideal of an enlightened social order. The history of the idea of peace and arbitration, from the days of the apostles to the present hour, stands as the supreme example. But that is the theme of this whole essay, so let us observe the process on a smaller scale by a glance at the testimony against human slavery, as it gradually gathered power within the Society of Friends and then passed beyond its borders into the moral life of the nation.

The first protest against slavery in this country was made by Pastorius and his Mennonite-Quaker followers at Germantown. However, little headway was made against the institution, which throve in the churches as well as the world, and Christian conscience seemed asleep in the matter. In this situation the order of advance was, first, the awakening of conscience in individual leaders; second, the gradual formation of a group ideal within the sect; third, the leavening influence of this sect upon the national policy. The whole thing is a standing challenge to the materialistic interpretation of history, which ascribes the anti-slavery movement to economic causes. The Quaker movement goes contrary to that view in two ways: First, the Northern Quakers had no economic motive for concluding, any earlier than their neighbors, that slavery was not desirable. Second, the Southern Quakers

also washed their hands of the evil even though living in the South under the very economic conditions which, in the eye of the historical materialist, should have rendered their action impossible. It is clearly a case of moral idealism, and probably its roots run back to the Apostle Paul's epistle to Philemon, according to which he sent back the slave Onesimus as "a brother beloved", and to various supplementary passages in the New Testament—but most of all to the spirit that emanates from its pages even when the texts run squarely to the contrary.

At any rate there gradually arose in the minds of a few of the finer Quaker spirits, notably John Woolman, a conviction that human slavery was wrong. Very modestly, tactfully, and charitably he raised the question from time to time in the assemblies of the Society of Friends, and time and again its consideration was postponed. After a few years very guarded and non-committal "advice" were issued by the Yearly Meetings to their members. From advice it passed to exhortation, and from exhortation it swelled into strong condemnation of this holding of human beings in bondage by members of the Society. Then the fan was taken in hand, unresponsive members were "visited" and finally disowned, and the Quaker threshing-floor was at last thoroughly purged. In all this we trace the formation and growth of a group ideal which was not only in advance of the average citizen of the world; it even outran many an honest member of the sect. When we read of a case of discipline applied to a woman Friend for maltreating her slave it becomes clear what a low level of humanitarian feeling stretched away through the community which surrounded this gradually elevating moral plateau.

But finally the great work within the sect was accomplished, and by the time the Revolutionary War began the Society of Friends had

washed itself clean from the great wrong whose enormity was destined to remain unperceived for years to come by the social mind of the nation yet, "as soon as the machinery was well in motion for the removal of every trace of human slavery from the Quaker group, positive efforts were at once inaugurated to bring influence to bear in shaping legislation in the direction of Abolition."¹ In 1774 a committee of Friends was appointed to "use their influence" with the Rhode Island General Assembly. In this same year the Legislature passed an act "by which the enslaving of negroes was forever prohibited. Stephen Hopkins was the author of the bill."² This Stephen Hopkins, nine times governor of Rhode Island, had himself been disowned by Friends the year before for refusing to free his sole and only slave!

This sketch of the Quaker anti-slavery movement was undertaken, it will be recalled, to illustrate the proposition that these passive resistant sects have served as moral power-houses for society at large, and the force of the statement is immeasurably increased when it is remembered that thousands of the leaders of public and social life not now in membership with these sects received their spiritual momentum in these quaint training schools. When these things are considered the question may well be raised whether these austere and plain-lived people, superficially so negative in policy, are not playing fundamentally a very positive role in the evolution of social ethics. In its finest form their austerity is not asceticism at all, which Professor MacKenzie³ has declared to be "merely a sort of spite against the 'me', and in this sense, a vice." He profoundly identifies self-devotion with self-developement, showing that "selfishness is essentially nega-

¹ Jones, "Quakers in the Am. Col's.", p. 165.

² Ibid.

³ "Self-Assertion and Self-Denial", in the Internat'l Jour. of Ethics. Vol. 5.

tive," and hence that "self-denial is essentially positive." Thus it would appear that even these meek and self-effacing followers of the peace which nothing can offend are after all making the greatest of all affirmations. They are asserting the ideal, truly ethical self-hood. They are like him "who composedly perilled his life and lost it, (yet) has done exceedingly well for himself."¹ These of the "ethical élite" are standing for a rationalized view of life, for an ideal plan that excels and transcends the best and finest that any one of them could construct. It is the "super-rational sanction" of Benjamin Kidd, the "great cloud of witnesses" of the Apostle Paul, that lures and cheers them on with an ineffable sense of divine significance which exalts their often outwardly bare existence.

We have seen that the natural endowment of the passive resisters is the same as that of other men of their generation. They are not moral ciphers or social negations, but people ruled by a great idea which, though often necessarily expressed in negative ways, is the great constructive, affirmative program and ideal along which the ethical life of the world is slowly but irresistably moving. It is not without significance that the men we are describing speak seldom of non-resistance, which is negative, but often of the "principles of peace", which is a positive thing. In the long war against war, first inaugurated by passive resisters of the Christian faith, the sects described in this essay fought for centuries single-handed under the contempt of the world, the pity of the church military, and the secret admiration of both. The main body of organized Christianity, since the day when Constantine, by political favor and influence, robbed it of its purest light, the State Church has ever stood by to bless and sanctify every project of national

¹ Quoted by MacKenzie, *ibid.*, from Walt Whitman.

violence and aggression. So low did the moral tone of the pulpit descend that the American Peace Society published, in 1840, a pamphlet on "The War Degeneracy of the Church".¹ The most incredible rant has been delivered in Christian pulpits by the Chauvinistic priests of war. In 1735, a Charlestown minister, preaching to "The Honorable Artillery Company" of Boston, from the text, "the Lord is a man of War", exhorts his hearers to study to "gracefully manage the exercise of your arms, guns and swords", etc. etc. "Give thyself to these things", quotes this pious wrester of the Scriptures, that thy profiting may appear to all", that you may learn "not only to defend yourselves, and the cities of your God, but also to offend and vanquish your enemies". Examples might easily be multiplied from this pamphleteer's survey covering all so-called Christian nations. In the case described we have again the group spirit warping the individual mind to the national purposes, however much they may require the contortions of logic to add a semblance of right for conscience' sake. The particular aggression which this preacher of the gospel of peace had to consecrate was the invasion of Canada against the French. Inasmuch as the view now prevails that it is the Nietzschean-Treitschkean-Bernhardian philosophy of the knotty club which is responsible for the conversion of the German nation, during the last two or three decades, into a fighting machine, it may be admissible to quote the following further passage from the pamphlet referred to, which, let it be recalled, was published in 1840, just three-quarters of a century ago. "A distinguished professor in one of our theological seminaries, who had travelled and resided in Germany, informed us that the most eminent ministers and theological professors there, as well as

¹ "The Advocate of Peace", No. XXV.

the great body of Christians, look upon the war-system as an ordinance of Heaven, to be countenanced and upheld as much as civil government." The author adds: "This we take to be the common sentiment of Christians through the world; and the fact proves the extent and depth of their degeneracy." Witnesses are not lacking within these churches themselves, for their better conscience has never wholly died. At a Congress of the Episcopal Church at Providence, Rhode Island, in 1900, occurred a discussion on "War from the Christian Point of View". Mr. Ernest H. Crosby declared that "it is a fact that the church favors war. Can you recall", he challenges his hearers, "a single sermon condemning war, or even severely critical of it? A great movement against war has been going on in England during the past two years,.....but the whole bench of bishops has been on the side of bloodshed." After pointing out similar conditions in France, Germany, Russia and America, the speaker arrived at the astounding conclusion that "the churches are the chief strongholds in Christendom of the spirit of warfare."

Dr. Washington Gladden recently wrote of "the Christian attitude toward war" as a position "which the Church, in all the centuries, has so treacherously failed to maintain."¹

In the light of these facts it is strange to see ministers even in churches which have never lifted up a standard against war, vehemently proclaiming that Christianity has failed in the present European debacle. Aside from the very evident fact that the policy of a nation is not the act of the small minority represented in its Christian churches such wild declamations simply put their authors in a foolish position. Either Christianity has no clear message against war, as their own churches have practically declared by their age-long silence and inertia,

¹ In the New York "Times"; quoted in the "Literary Digest", April 10, 1915. p. 810.

else Christianity has never even been tried by the Church, much less by the world. But to suggest that Christ's peace principles have failed when their official mouth-piece has failed to proclaim them is utterly ridiculous.

Yet, bad as is the record of the church, we must recognize two undonoring facts: First, that Christianity, as a leaven among men, and distinguished from the Church as a human institution made up from and officered by more or less selfish men, has been an immeasurable influence for peace; and, Second, that individual members of even the war-defending churches have long been active in the movement for peace and arbitration, and their number is rapidly increasing. Perhaps we may justly say that in this Cause the pew has been more powerful than the pulpit; yet the impetus came from the Christian faith and teaching after all.

There is nothing in the world more stubborn and more uncompromising than systems of thought and moral conviction. Certain great central ideas are imperious in their rule over whole kingdoms of congenial and kindred ideas. Against alien, intruding ideas the gates are barred. The Christian principle of peace is an organizing idea of this kind. War is an alien wherever the Christian tradition and ideal rules, and can never be tolerated by it. The two ideas are mortally antagonistic and mutually exclusive. This truth is beginning to settle into a general conviction among Western nations. In proportion as the popular churches take up the cudgels against war they are simply returning to the pure Christian teaching which they lost fifteen hundred years ago. Meanwhile it has been steadily maintained by the passive resistant sects. By that process of social psychology known as the Christian tradition of peace and goodwill, supplemented by the special traditions of their own sects, their simple lore of godliness is confounding the wisdom of the world. The passive

resistant knew, in the light of a Christian conscience, just what war is, centuries before Sherman wrote it down with both sword and pen. Simple and guileless as they may be, these men of peace have never been so foolish as to expect to see the kingdom of heaven ushered in through the gates of hell.

In concluding this chapter the net result is that nothing could be more erroneous than the assumption that men of peace are necessarily deficient either in courage or other positive, aggressive traits. The genuine non-resistant, or the passivist of the Hindoo type, may be found to be of the passive, negative disposition, altho not necessarily a coward. That idea may be dismissed once for all. No man, seeking the line of least resistance, will ever adopt the policy of non-resistance. They are by no means the same thing in this world of violence, which adores brute force, and despises, while secretly admiring, those who reject its awards. If this be true of the non-resistant, close-community type, how much more truly does it apply to the passive resistant, or moral resistant, as defined in this essay. In the last analysis, this passive resistant is an ordinary person who plays the whole rough game of social and political life under a controlling spiritual experience. Despising the sword amidst men of the sword, he bears patiently the bitter hardships and sufferings of the moment in the calm assurance that the temporary adjustments of sheer brutality will everyone be finally wiped away to make room for a rational, and human, solution of moral problems. He believes in God.

CHAPTER VII

SUCSESSES AND FAILURES OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE

While passive resistance is a single definite principle of reaction to social environment, it presents a variety of cases because of its application to different aspects of group life. It is the purpose of this chapter to analyze the available material in a three-fold way, as follows: First, to state the typical cases of passive resistance; Second, to illustrate the same from history and literature; Third, to formulate the principle that seems to govern the success or failure of the policy, as viewed in its outward and social aspects.

Before proceeding to this analysis a word may be in order respecting the literature of this phase of our subject. So far as the present writer is aware, less than a half-dozen writers have directly attacked this problem. Mention has been made of the chapter on "The Gospel of Non-Resistance" by Professor Giddings. Aside from his essay, the direct discussion of the efficacy of this policy has been left to the earlier essayists of the peace movement. This is supplemented by incidental references in the works of historians and public speakers. We have, to be sure, the works of the historians of the various peace sects, but their interest has not lain in this direction. Being usually members of the sect themselves, their attention has been centered on the more strictly religious life of the organization rather than upon its social influence and success. This reminds us again that the phase which we are investigating is the by-product of the principle in the eyes of those who have practiced it. They would never have suffered as they did for a principle of mere social expediency, and a demonstration of its failure from a worldly point of view would not have deterred them.

This subordination of temporal success to the testimony of a

good conscience is reflected in the literature upon which we shall have to draw, and accounts in part for its comparative meagerness. Almost a hundred years ago, nevertheless, the questions we are seeking to answer were entertained by a mind competent to discuss them, and the result was that Dr. Thomas Hancock published, in 1826, the second edition¹ of a work in which he clearly anticipated the present and similar inquiries. In his preface he says: "The time will undoubtedly come -- and no one can say how soon it may arrive -- when the Christian principles of peace will be more generally received and acted upon in the world than they are at present; every contribution, however small, pointing out the way in which the followers of peace have endeavored to obey their Lord and Master's literal injunctions on this fundamental point, and commemorating the blessed effects of their obedience, may have some little weight in the balance, to determine the minds of hesitating Christians on the side of peace." And further on he reminds the reader that "the fact of their outward preservation would be no sufficient argument to themselves that they had acted as they ought in such a crisis" as that described; it nevertheless "affords a striking lesson to those who will take no principle, that has not been verified by experience, for a rule of human conduct, even if it should have the sanction of Divine authority."

The title of this truly remarkable book presents, in the quaint fashion of those times, a sufficiently full description of its character: "The Principles of Peace Exemplified in the conduct of the Society of Friends in Ireland, during the rebellion of the year 1798, with some preliminary and concluding observations. By Thomas Hancock, M.D. Second edition. Revised and enlarged. London, 1826."

¹ The date of the first edition is not given. An edition of the same work was published by the American Peace Society, Boston, 1843. The cover-title of this edition is "Hancock on Peace."

The one other work which is devoted to an extended investigation of the social workings of this principle was published, apparently, by William Ladd, the "father of the American Peace Society," under the pen name "Philanthropos," in 1831. The self-explanatory title runs: "A Brief Illustration of the Principles of War and Peace, showing the ruinous policy of the former, and the superior efficacy of the latter, for national protection and defense; clearly manifested by their practical operations and opposite effects upon nations, kingdoms and people." From these and various other works less directly devoted to this problem it is now proposed to display the actual workings of the policy of passive resistance, and to deduce the laws that govern the same.

1. The first case is that in which a non-resisting individual confronts a hostile aggressor.

Under this head would fall the various anecdotes of deliverance from highwaymen and other assailants, narrated of the men of peace. It is related of the Archbishop Sharpe that when riding alone in a secluded spot, a "well-looking" young man suddenly confronted him, placed a pistol to his breast, and demanded his money. The archbishop, gazing upon him with the utmost composure and steadfastness, asked him to remove the dangerous weapon and tell him frankly and honestly his condition. "Sir! Sir" with great agitation, cried the youth, "no words, 'tis not a time -- your money instantly." -- "Hear me, young man," said the archbishop; "you see I am an old man, and my life is of little consequence; yours seems far otherwise. I am named Sharpe, and am archbishop of York; my carriage and servants are behind. Tell me what money you want, and who you are; and I will not injure you, but prove a friend. Here, take this," giving him his purse; "and now ingenuously tell me how much you want to make you independent of so destructive a business as you are now engaged in." "O, Sir," replied the man, "I detest the business as

much as you. I am — but — but at home there are creditors who will not stay; fifty pounds, my lord, indeed, would do what no tongue besides my own can tell." The money was given him and he departed, agreeing to call upon the Archbishop as requested. This he actually did two years afterward, when he returned with the money, and with great emotion narrated to his benefactor how he had been driven by misfortune from a respectable career to that desperate enterprise in order to retrieve his fortunes, which had since turned for the better. "By your astonishing goodness," he exclaimed, "I am at once the most penitent, most grateful, and happiest of my species."

This account¹ shows how the safety of the non-resistant depends in some cases upon the question whether the assailant is playing his normal rôle, or is in a state of mental and emotional instability. Yet the large number of cases of this kind would seem to indicate that the basis of pacific appeal is often present. Robert Barclay, the celebrated Quaker Apologist, when attacked by a highwayman, offered no resistance, but calmly expostulated. "The felon dropped his presented pistol, and offered no farther violence." Again, Leonard Fell, a Quaker minister, was assaulted by a highwayman, "who plundered him of his money and his horse and afterward threatened to blow out his brains. Fell solemnly spoke to the robber on the wickedness of his life. The man was astonished; he declared he would take neither his money nor his horse and returned both."² George Fox relates a similar experience in his "Journal."

In all these instances we have men of superior moral character and spiritual power confronting an assailant who is in the very act of

¹ Published by the American Peace Society in "Views of Peace and War," No. XL., under "Safety of Pacific Principles."

² "The Book of Peace: a collection of essays on war and peace." Boston, 1845. cf. p. 542. These anecdotes occur in the essay entitled "Efficacy of Pacific Principles."

offering them violence.

In this present category belong the very numerous stories of sudden softening on the part of recalcitrant children, ferocious inmates of penal institutions, and others, under the melting effect of unexpected kindness. Without multiplying illustrations of this kind, we conclude with an anecdote which illustrates the power of unexpected kindness, when offered in place of expected retaliation, to overcome animosity. This is the story of William Ladd, the great peace advocate already referred to, and his neighbor Pulsifer.¹ The latter had some long-legged sheep which were destroying Mr. Ladd's grain fields, and their ^{owner} had failed, in disregard of complaints, to take steps to stop it. Finally Mr. Ladd ordered his men to be prepared to set the dogs on them, and, being, as he says, "not so much of a peace man then" as he became later, he rode away "literally full of fight." But, upon thinking it over, he discovered a little plan, and next day rode over to the offending neighbor's house. Pulsifer, chopping wood before his door, responded to Mr. Ladd's greetings without looking up. But the instant Ladd mentioned the sheep Pulsifer threw down his axe and began to upbraid him, a rich man, for ordering the dogs set upon a poor neighbor's sheep. Mr. Ladd continues: 'I was wrong, neighbor,' said I; 'but it won't do to let your sheep eat up all that grain; so I came over to say that I would take your sheep to my homestead pasture, and put them in with mine, and in the fall you may take them back, and if any one is missing, you may take your pick out of my whole flock.'

"Pulsifer looked confounded — he did not know how to take me. At last he stammered out, 'now Squire, are you in earnest?' 'Certainly I am,' I answered; 'it is better for me to feed your sheep in my pasture on grass, than to feed them here on grain; and I see the fence

¹ "Safety of Pacific Principles," p. 348.

can't keep them out.' After a moment's silence — 'the sheer shan't trouble you any more,' exclaimed Pulsifer. 'I will fetter them all. But I'll let you know that when any man talks of shooting, I can shoot too.' The sheep never again trespassed on my lot."

Generalizing from these incidents we find the following Principle: that the success of passive (moral) resistance in these dyadic, or man-to-man relations, is due to a rush of generous emotion, such as gratitude or shame, aroused by an unexpected act of kindness, magnanimity, or fearless interest in the moral welfare of the offender.

2. The second case is that wherein the passive resistant individual comes in conflict with the requirements of the state.

In this group would fall the persecutions of the early Christians, as previously described, and those of the later peace sects prior to the time when the sect and its peculiar tenets became clearly impressed upon the social mind. When this occurred a different principle came into play, as will be shown in the following section. But before the sect as such became known to the public mind, those who were later to compose its membership succeeded or failed as separate and recalcitrant members of the community at large. It is known to all that the passive resisters who represent this type suffered severe hardships and in many cases a terrible death. The animosity of the populace urged on the civil authorities against the early Christians; with results dreadful to contemplate.¹ Many individuals thus suffered martyrdom although the new faith triumphed in the end. In the case of the incipient peace sects the trouble with government usually arose on account of the refusal of individuals to train for military service, take the oath of allegiance, or perform other acts pertaining to the duties of

¹ Cf. "The Early Christian Persecutions" by D.C. Munro (Edit.) Google

citizenship.¹ In these struggles we find the same sufferings on the part of the individual, particularly in times of public danger from invasion or insurrection, and the same final triumph, though less complete, as the sect became favorably known and was thereby enabled to secure exemptions for its own members as such. The earlier historical chapters have so fully set forth the experiences of the well-known peace sects, that the space here may be devoted to a few more modern examples.

Mention belongs first to the Socialists, the most modern of all peace groups, and one of the most active. Their hatred of war, which rests upon humanitarian grounds, as stated above in Tolstoy's case of Van der Ver, expresses itself along the lines of political activity and public agitation.

Robert Hunter's recent study of "Violence and the Labor Movement" is a profound and truly philosophic analysis and presentation of the subject of the present essay, but from a different angle. He shows the long and heroic struggle which the Socialist movement has waged against the use of violence in its own ranks, and in the face of the organized violence long directed against the working class, first by venal governments, and more recently by the private mercenary armies of capitalist employers. First, the laboring men who sought to better their social condition had to wash their hands of such terrorists as Henry and Vailant, whose violence destroyed all reason and sympathy in the public and put reactionaries in the saddle. Their removal of officials by violence, Mr. Hunter declares, "has hardly caused a ripple in the swiftly moving current of evolution."² In fact, so futile are such methods that

¹ See "The United States versus Fringle: The Record of a Quaker Conscience," in the Atlantic Monthly, Vol. III, pp. 145-162. (Feb., 1913); also "An account of the sufferings of Friends of North Carolina Yearly Meeting, in support of their testimony against war, from 1861 to 1865." Pub. by N. Carolina Yearly Meeting.

² "Violence and the Labor Movement," by Robert Hunter, (1914) p. 103.

the police of European countries have long made it a practice to send secret emissaries and spies among the laborers, with counsels of violence and terrorism, knowing full well that such methods, when adopted by the laboring man, produce a profound reaction in the public mind and lead to the enactment of drastic laws in the interest of conservatism and privilege. A Socialist speaker, referring to the trade-union activity of 1815-1816, declared, as quoted by Hunter, "It was not until we became infested by spies, incendiaries, and their dupes — distracting, misleading, and betraying — that physical force was mentioned among us. After that our moral power waned."¹

The meaning of the working-class movement for the last one hundred years is found, for the purposes of this essay, in the successive efforts of two conflicting tendencies or principles to gain control of the forces of social discontent. These two contending rivals are the principle of violence, as expressed in the early "Propaganda of the Deed" by Bakounin and Netchayeff, the organized Anarchism of later years, and "its logical descendant," the Syndicalism of today, on the one hand; and the principle of passive, or moral resistance, as consistently pursued by the Socialist party in its dependence on the education of the masses and the appeal to the ballot-box alone. It is the long and dramatic contest between these two principles of social action that Mr. Hunter's book portrays. The superior power of moral resistance may be shown by a single but striking instance.

The German autocracy having determined to crush the growing party of Social-Democracy, Bismarck tried to provoke retaliation on the part of the Socialists through the use of the well-known Russianized methods. "Again and again Bismarck's press declared: 'What is most necessary is to provoke the social-democrats to commit acts of despair, to

¹ Ibid., p. 313.

draw them into the open street, and there to shoot them down.' Well, if this was actually what Bismarck wanted, he failed utterly."¹ An underground movement grew, hampered by occasional terrorist acts on the part of mis-guided working-class fanatics, or their enemies, but the Social-Democrats refused to appeal to brute force. During twelve years of suffering the movement increased, gaining a million adherents. The government could no longer withstand this increasing volume of moral power, and so, on Sept. 30, 1890, "the anti-socialist law was repealed. A wave of popular rejoicing and celebration swept over Germany. Liebknecht was able to say at the Socialist Conference in 1891: "He (Bismarck) has had at his entire disposal for more than a quarter of a century, the police, the army, the capital, and the power of the State — in brief, all the means of mechanical force. We had only our just right, our firm conviction, our bared breasts to oppose him with, and it is we who have conquered! Our arms were the best. In the course of time brute power must yield to the moral factors, to the logic of things. Bismarck lies crushed to the earth -- and social democracy is the strongest party in Germany!*** The essence of revolution lies not in the means, but in the end. Violence has been, for thousands of years, a reactionary factor."² To this impressive testimony to the might of passive resistance we may add some of the last words of Engels to his socialist followers: "We, the 'revolutionaries,' are profiting more by lawful than by unlawful and revolutionary means. The parties of order as they call themselves, are being destroyed by their own weapons."³

The oppressive Defense Acts of New Zealand and Australia have aroused one of the most remarkable manifestations of passive resistance known to history, and it is in full progress at this writing. A whole chapter would be required to do justice to this blot on the Empire.

¹ Ibid., p. 219.

² Ibid., p. 226.

³ Ibid., pp. 347-348.

Nothing could more absolutely blacken and condemn the whole system of modern militarism as does the bare recital of this "stream of facts," showing typical cases of maltreatment and prosecution under the Defense Act.¹ Militarism had already fairly earned the execration of the friends of enlightenment even while confining its tyrannies to full-grown men. But when the official tools of the conscription system swoop down upon mere children of twelve and fourteen years, and for refusal, upon conscientious grounds, to train, drag them, even from their support of widowed mothers, to exist for weeks on bread and water, and be abused and beaten by full-grown bullies in soldiers' buttons — then it would seem that a great wave of popular abhorrence would surely rise to sweep this new Inquisition away in a moment. The fact that the people will tolerate such outrages is due to at least three causes:—First; the military coterie in every government usually awaits a moment of public inattention to get the snap legislation which could never endure the light of full and free discussion. As for the worst features of the New Zealand Act, "these regulations are never discussed in Parliament until after they have come into force, and usually not at all. They are drafted by the military authorities, adopted by the Cabinet, gazetted (usually during the recess) and laid upon the table after the House meets."² Second; the same selfish interests that furnish both the occasion and the demand for a militaristic establishment, may control, or partially obstruct, the avenues of free communication and public opinion. It is well known that many newspapers are the mouth-pieces of big business, but it is not yet so fully recognized that most foreign troubles are really stirred up in the interest of the selfish aggres-

¹ The statements made here are based on accounts in the "American Friend," "London Friend," and two pamphlets, "A Blot on the Empire: Conscription in New Zealand," and "Compulsory Military Service in Australia: A Statement of Facts," both published by the Society of Friends.

² "A Blot on the Empire," p.15.

ions and greed of that same element in the national life. Third: even when these truths are rather widely recognized or suspected, that blind group panic which assumes that every nation on earth, except the one that happens to be doing the militaristic bug-a boo act, is preparing to attack without cause — this phobia may dominate the popular mind and cause it to cast the precious principles of individual right and social justice to the winds. With all its undoubted wealth of individual bravery, this ruthless and panicky brutality of the military party in Australia raises the question: Is not militarism after all simply the extreme manifestation of group cowardice? The depth of this collective cowardice is seen in the effort of society to force mere children to make it their chief pastime to be moulded into soldiers, in order to send them forth in the bloom of youth¹ to perish in the needless conflicts which such a national policy is quite sure to provoke.

The New Zealand law does not leave the matter to the discretion of parents and guardians. It brings the mailed fist down on the heads of the children themselves, those who have no voice whatever in the framing of the law, and punishes them for refusal. In such a situation, with the sovereign State pitted against legal infancy, "many of the boys who had been imprisoned formed a Passive Resisters' Union," which, in 1913, numbered four hundred and fifty youths in the town of Christchurch alone. All were pledged to resist compulsory training. Punishment by the military authorities then became a badge of honor rather than a disgrace. "Those who have worn the broad arrow, picked oakum, and had their fingerprints taken, are looked upon by their fellows as leaders and heroes. They organize meetings, address large crowds in the streets, and circularize members of Parliament." As the popular indignation grew, the military propagandists were compelled to retrench slightly in 1909.

¹ They are subject to the draft for active service at the age of eighteen.

Among other things they raised the age of compulsory training from twelve to the ripe maturity of fourteen years!

Untold hardships have been inflicted on the children and youth of Australia, and the recital of the crimes committed by the state against its wards would be interesting reading, but instead a few remarks must be made upon the actual workings of this passive resistance movement. The extent of resistance and prosecution has become so great that the courts were flooded with cases, to the serious hindrance of regular business. The New Zealand Times proposed that an extra magistrate be added to the bench for such cases only. The government has not changed its policy greatly, but the general drift has been to recede slightly. Nevertheless, dissatisfaction¹ is so great that emigration has been mentioned as the only avenue of relief, and some have actually left the colony. This indicates the strain being put upon the devotion of conscientious, but truly loyal citizens, and is expressed in these significant words: "The means taken for the defence of New Zealand tend to make it scarcely worth defending."²

Another movement of the present type, i.e. the individual passive resistant against the State, is now under way in England, in the determined opposition waged for twelve years against the Education Act of 1902. Briefly put, that Act embodied a successful effort of the ecclesiastical or clerical element in English politics to sustain and extend the religious systems of the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches at the expense of the tax-payers in general. Since multitudes of the latter are conscientiously opposed to the teachings of those churches, the unjust character of the Act is apparent. There are three parties to this great controversy. The first is the clerical party, whose atti-

¹ "At Footscray (in 1912) over 100 Cadets were sentenced, and a crowd of from 300 to 400 cheered each cadet as he left the building."--"A Stream of Facts," p.14.

² "The Blot on the Empire," p.16.

tude seems to be to swallow serenely and blandly all the available taxes, and finally the entire educational and religious establishments¹ of dissenters, regardless of the equities of the situation. The Second party is that of the dissenting sects, or non-conformists, who have put up a determined passive resistance, being thoroughly organized in the "National Passive Resistance League." They demand, not the denial of a fair share of funds for the clerical enterprises, but simply a division, according to the principles of fair play, between the various denominations, and an extension of the public schools. The third party is the Liberal government, which has been generous in promises of redress, but has been thus far unable to fulfill them for political reasons. "They believe in civic education and in democratic control,*** but * if they are to fight the forces massed against them, they must live, and they must hold together, so that they may not lose what they have achieved, and fail to put securely on the Statute Book, Home Rule for Ireland, Disestablishment for Wales, and Justice for the Voter."²

The method of these "Passive Resisters," as they style themselves, is to refuse to pay the taxes, but to submit obediently to the penalty of the law for their delinquency. This punishment comes with inflexible regularity in the form of fines, and when these are not paid, distraint of goods and imprisonment. The magnitude of this passive resistance movement and the hardship it entails is shown by the fact that within two and one-half years of its commencement the League had received reports of over 70,000 summonses, and 254 commitments to prison.

¹ That is to say, the "equities" as seen from the point of view of plain democracy and liberty of conscience. Doubtless the clerical policy looks more decent to a fully indoctrinated Churchman, in "the classic land of vested interests."

² "Passive Resistance," by John Clifford, M.A., LL.D., D.D. This is the annual publication of the Passive Resistance League. The passage quoted occurs in the number for June 1913 — June 1914, p. 6.

The character of the people connected with the movement is best revealed in the following statement from its secretary:¹ "The men and women whose goods have been sold belong to a class who are the strength of our country.*** They belong to all classes and ranks. They are clergymen and ministers, journalists and teachers, manufacturers and magistrates, members of Parliament and candidates for Parliament, farmers and gardeners, aged women and young men."

The success or failure of this movement, and the same is true of the Australian resistance, cannot be fully estimated at this stage, but a few considerations appear. One thing seems to be definitely claimed for the Passive Resisters, and that is the English election of 1906, which returned the Liberals with authority to destroy the veto power of the House of Lords, where the chief strength of the clerical movement lies. Secretary Clifford says, "The election of 1906 was our victory. Every Passive Resister worked with his full strength."² This, if true, is a signal success for Passive Resistance and is exactly in line with the social influences it usually sets in motion. On the other hand, there has been a tendency for some of the early supporters to fall away from the movement, especially since the Liberal victory referred to, inasmuch as it seemed to promise a thorough correction of the evils complained of. In part this may be due to the proverbially quick exhaustion which tends to overtake all sudden expressions of popular indignation. The secretary admits that they "are few in number compared with the hosts which at first resisted the fraudulent legislation of 1902."³

The nature of the forces arrayed against the Passive Resisters and in support of the hated Education Act throws light upon the social

¹ "Passive Resistance," June 1913, p.7.
² Ibid., p.4.

² Ibid., p.7.

principles operating in cases of this type. If we may accent the statement of one of the interested parties, and there is no occasion to question it, it is the old, old struggle of tenacious privilege against popular rights. Dr. Clifford says that "the Passive Resistance movement is a social factor in the great controversy now proceeding in this country between the people and their powerful and traditional rulers. It has made clearer than ever the spirit and aims, plans and character of the two armies engaged in the contest between the popular will on the one hand and the domination of privileged classes and monopolist institutions on the other."¹

Mr. Roosevelt has made the dire prediction that all the noisy peace people "would be swept like chaff before the gust of popular fury which would surely come if ever the nation really saw and felt a danger and an insult."² He bases this assertion on the assumption that those who hold to such "timid patriotism" are a very small minority. It is perfectly evident that if this minority be sufficiently insignificant and the war panic sufficiently great such would be the result. But the extent of the influence of a particular sect or movement is not to be measured by the mere numbers of its "noisy" spokesmen. No sect or movement is a totally isolated group. It is produced by the conditions and spirit of the age. With respect to both space and time it is woven into the life of the community at large. It shades off gradually into the populace. Some persons are on the very point of casting in their fortunes with it. **Others are reflecting seriously.** Still others are friendly to it, while a great many are neutral. If now we couple with these considerations the fact that practically all persecutions and most wars are undertaken in the interest of a comparatively small

¹ Op.cit., June 1914, p.1.

² In his "American Ideals," p.156.

ruling class, it then becomes clear why persecution seldom, if ever, succeeds in crushing such movements. Mr. Lecky, in discussing the history of persecutions, has given us the terminology we require. He says: "While the particular form that a heresy assumes may be dependant on circumstances that are peculiar to the heresiarch, the existence and success of heretical teaching always proves that the tone of thought or measure of probability prevailing at the time has begun to diverge from the tone of thought or measure of probability of orthodoxy."¹

We are now prepared to generalize from the various instances which have been described, and suggest as the key to success or failure the following Principle: In cases where the passive resistant individual conflicts with the policy of the state, his success depends upon the tone of thought and public opinion existing at the time, and upon the degree in which, by free communication, it affects such institutions of social control as government, the press, and organized religion.

7. The third typical case is that wherein a passive resistant sect seeks to maintain the policy of peace and absolute neutrality toward the contending parties to war or social revolution.

In this group fall the experiences of all the modern peace sects during the American Revolution and the Civil War. The experience of the Doukhobors in the region of the Milky Waters, while not pertaining to war or revolution, is mentioned here because it emphasizes the first part of the above proposition, which is: the established reputation of the sect becomes its protection or else fails it in the cases of this class. It was proclaimed at the time that the Doukhobors were expelled from the Crimea and transported to the Trans-Caucasus because of their

¹ "History of Rationalism in Europe," Vol. II., p. 37.

mis-doings, and recently some of them have admitted the truth of the charge.¹ In this instance the unfavorable reputation of the sect was its weakness, and it may be that the popular contempt aroused by their fanatical doings since their settlement in Canada may be partly responsible for the indignities they have had to suffer, according to the following account: "When the Doukhobores went out to do navvy work on the railways, and it became known that they held themselves bound by the rule, 'Resist not him that is evil,' and understood it to mean that they were never to use physical force against any one, some ill-conditioned Canadians took advantage of this to inflict very real hardships upon them: spitting into their tea or porridge, preventing their sleeping, popping bits of meat into their soup, (knowing them to be vegetarians), etc."² "This was done," thinks Maude, "chiefly to provoke the Doukhobors to resistance." His interpretation may be correct, but such cases are so rare among the German and English peace sects that the temptation is strong to charge these insults endured by the Doukhobors to the unfavorable notoriety which their fanatical doings had earned for them, and to credit to the established reputation of the sect the almost uniform consideration paid the ^{typical} passive resistant.

This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that the Australasian Defence Acts granted special exemption to the Quakers, although others, not members, though they objected to the law on "conscientious" grounds, were not granted exemption. However, the law has recently been changed to read, "his religious belief", instead of "the doctrines of his religion." The purpose in this is to enable the magistrate, by a sort of Inquisition which is guided solely by his own power of "spiritual discernment," to determine whether the views of the objector are sincerely

¹ Maude, "A Peculiar People, etc." p.149.

² Maude, op.cit., p.198.

held.¹

In cases of the kind now under consideration the sect must not only be popularly recognized as producing the qualities of character and citizenship universally admired, but it must also be able to command absolute confidence in its perfect neutrality and freedom from partisan bias. Just in proportion as this confidence is lacking, to that extent is the popular wrath in such times of excitement visited upon it. In places where the Quakers and other peace people were suspected of Tory sympathies they suffered mistreatment at the hands of the rabble; but such cases are comparatively rare.

The most melancholy example of this kind in history is that black blot on American frontier history, the Moravian Massacre. The affair has been described from two entirely different points of view by Roosevelt in his "Winning of the West," and Prof. Taylor in his "History of the Moravian Church in the United States." The two writers agree in attributing the foul deed to a loss of confidence on the part of the enraged frontiersmen toward the Moravian Brethren and their Indian converts on the Tuscarawas. Roosevelt declares that "their fate was not due to the fact that they were Indians; it resulted from their occupying an absolutely false position. This is clearly shown" he argues, "by what happened twenty years previously to a small community of non-resistant Christian whites. They were Dunkards — Quaker-like Germans — who had built a settlement on the Monongahela. As they helped neither side, both distrusted and hated them. The whites harrassed them in every way, and the Indians finally fell upon and massacred them. The fates of these two communities, of white Dunkards and red Moravians, were exactly parallel. Each became hateful to both sets of combatants, was persecuted by both, and finally fell a victim to the ferocity of the race to which it did not belong."²

¹ Cf. "The Blot on the Empire," pp. 12-13. ² Op. cit., Vol. .n. 146.

Taylor assigns the same cause when he says: "And despite their serious losses and openhanded hospitality, the Brethren themselves were denounced, by those inimical to their missions, as being secretly in league with the French and the savages.*** Again the Brethren were falsely charged with supplying the savages with powder and ball.*** The influence of Zeisberger (the Moravian leader) had been steadily employed to restrain (the Indians) from sweeping down upon the colonies *** but their very neutrality exposed the missionaries and their converts to the hostility of both parties.*** Although (the Moravian Indians) had repeatedly shown their consistent adherence to non-combatant principles, they were mistakenly identified with the perpetrators of the raids and massacres that had horrified the border settlements during the winter."¹

Under the ~~exasperation~~ ^{exasperation}, suspicion, and thirst for vengeance engendered by all these conditions, a party of frontier militia visited the peace Indians at Gnadenhütten, on the Tuscarawas, accepted the entertainment of their unsuspecting hosts, and the next morning "ninety Christians and six heathen visitors, offering no resistance whatever, were butchered in cold blood in two buildings wantonly named 'slaughter-houses.'" Such is Taylor's account. Roosevelt says the Christian Indians, "usually very timid, merely requested a short delay in which to prepare themselves for death. They asked one another's pardon for whatever wrongs they might have done, knelt down and prayed, kissed one another farewell, 'and began to sing hymns of hope and praise to the Most High.' Then the white butchers entered the houses and put to death the ninety-six men, women and children within their walls."²

The preceding examples would seem to indicate that passive resistance is usually a failure in cases of this type, but such a conclusion

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Op.cit., pp.472-481.

² Op.cit., p.156.

is forbidden by the experience of the Moravians and Friends in Ireland, as well as by that of the latter in Pennsylvania.

In the year 1798, Ireland was devastated by a wide spread war between the party of the United Irishmen, largely, but not wholly, Roman Catholic, and the Orangemen, or constitutional party, composed of Protestants. The conditions were therefore most distressing, since nothing can be worse than a war in which neighbor is set against neighbor, especially where the intense passions of religious bigotry, and social animosity due to class oppressions, are turned loose to run riot without even the discipline of well-ordered armies. Buildings everywhere were burned, property plundered, and scores of people of all ages were cruelly murdered. In the midst of all this carnival of ignorance and brutal passion, the Moravian mission at Gracehill, in the north of Ireland, was preserved in impartial neutrality, and yet unsuspected loyalty, and suffered no loss except the appropriation of the stock of green ribands from the shop, with meat and drink for the foraging party. After the battle of Toome Bridge, Gracehill became the general asylum, and as the fugitives came flying through the streets, "some *** threw their purses and money into the houses, and made sure of their being restored by the unknown inhabitants. Such was the confidence of all, in these honest Christian people."¹

During this same Rebellion, the Quakers were widely scattered, sometimes in remote neighborhoods, in both the north and south of Ireland. The account of their experiences, based directly on the reports of participants, has been given by Dr. Hancock in his work, "The Principles of Peace Exemplified," which has already been quoted. This little volume is probably the most remarkable book ever written on the

¹ From the letter of the Moravian Secretary (1828) quoted by Hancock in "Principles of Peace Exemplified," p. 76.

subject of peace, and its authenticity cannot be questioned. Its tone is notably temperate and cautious, with that extreme carefulness of statement which characterized the typical Friend. The plan of treatment here pursued will be to sum up, under separate headings, the incidents that seem to the present writer to throw light upon the actual workings of passive resistance under this severely trying test. The principles of success in this case, considered solely from the viewpoint of social psychology, seem to have been:—1. Inflexible neutrality; 2. Unfailing benevolence; 3. Absolute sincerity and confidence in God; 4. The reputation and badges of the sect. As consequences of these principles we shall notice: 1. The hardships and reproaches endured; and 2. the remarkable preservation and influence of the Friends.

(1) Inflexible Neutrality.

The approaching storm being discernible from afar, the Friends began as early as 1795, three years before, and upon recommendation of their Meetings, to destroy all fowling-pieces and other weapons "to prevent their being made use of to the destruction of our fellow-creatures,— and more fully and clearly to support our peaceable and Christian testimony in these perilous times." The members complied willingly and one Quaker, a member of the Committee to see to this disarmament program, "took a fowling-piece which he had, and broke it in pieces in the street opposite his house; an example of fidelity to his principles, and a spectacle of wonder to his neighbors." This action of the Society became known, and later, in the search for arms by both parties, their houses were not disturbed.

(2) Unfailing Benevolence.

So indiscriminating was the hospitality of the Friends that on various occasions their houses were crowded to the limit with a motley throng, including officers' wives, wounded soldiers, fugitive neighbors,

and whatever human flotsam and jetsam the waves of civil war brought to their doors. Being threatened with reprisals for sheltering some Protestant women, one Friend replied "that as long as he had a house, he would keep it open to succor the distressed; and if they burned it for that reason, he must only turn out along with them, and share in their affliction." The constant endeavor of the Quaker was, as Hancock words it in describing a Friend at Ballitore, "to steer a course of humanity and benevolence, which qualified him to interpose his good offices, with effect, on several occasions, for the preservation of those, of both parties, who were in imminent danger from their enemies."¹

(3) Absolute Sincerity and Confidence in God.

The Friends, even in the most embarrassing and perilous circumstances, refused, practically without exception, to compromise their principles. One refused to sell robes and linen to the militia for purposes of torturing and killing the rebels. Friends in general refused to accept the gifts tendered by the rebels when they were known to be the

¹ It should be noticed here that the English Friends are now playing a similar part in the European conflict. Their loyalty to the British cause, in so far as it may be expressed morally, is undoubted, but they have, in the midst of the popular persecution of enemy aliens, made it their special effort to assist such unfortunate foreigners with a much-needed friendly hand. For this purpose funds have been subscribed by Friends in England and America, and also for a quite extensive work of humanity on the firing line. They maintain several ambulance units, which are manned by young men of the Society. While their work is naturally devoted mostly to their own countrymen and allies, it is the express purpose to show no discrimination in their benevolence. For the attitude of English Quakerism, see "Friends and the War; Addresses delivered at a Conference of Members of the Society of Friends and others, held at Llandudno, England, Sept. 1914." (Headley Brothers, London); also the files of the London Friend, American Friend, Present Day Papers, and other Periodicals.

spoils of war and plundering. In a town where the officer in charge had ordered the inhabitants to place lights in their windows to illuminate the streets, in case of a night attack on the town, with the threat of "severe and instantaneous punishment" for failure, another Friend, more scrupulous than his fellow members, went to the officer and said that: "as I could not fight myself, I was not easy to hold a candle for another to do it for me." As a result all the Friends were exempted from the order. Another Friend, captured by the Rebel army, stood uncovered while the army knelt in the service of mass. Others refused to take the back way to Meeting. All over Ireland they scarcely failed to hold a Meeting even when threatened with destruction, and they sometimes had to remove dead bodies from the road in order to pass. Under such circumstances women went unattended, yet unmolested, for miles, through a country in flames.

(4) The Reputation and Badges of the Sect.

Numerous instances occurred which make it absolutely clear that the absolute confidence of the people, on both sides, in the integrity and peaceable neutrality of the Quakers, was their protection. But this will appear in the next section, and may be omitted here. We simply note the testimony of one Friend, who said afterward that "the more he attended to what he conceived to be right in his own conduct, the more he seemed to be respected by the contestants."

The term "badges of the sect," refers to the garb peculiar to the Friends, as well as their mode of speech, or any other distinctive traits. A fleeing Roman Catholic priest begged for a Friend's coat as a means of protection, but was soon convinced that it could not conceal the lack of genuine Quaker qualities. The plain Quaker garb proved also a strong armor in the Pennsylvania troubles, and it is of significance to note that the Shawnee Indians, in later times, addressed a letter to North Carolina Yearly Meeting, in which they deplored the departure of Friends

from their ancient garb and manners, adding that, "in former days, they knew us from the people of the world, by the simplicity of our appearance, which in times of war, had been a preservation to us."¹ As a consequence of the above-described neutral policy, the Friends suffered some displeasure on the part of their neighbors. In one case the rebels proposed to let some of them stop bullets in the front rank if they would not fight, complaining that it was unfair for the Quakers to let their neighbors risk their goods and lives unaided for the common liberties. In another instance the commander of the government troops allowed a Friend's house to be plundered, along with those of other people; because, he said, "He is a Quaker, and will not fight, therefore the men must be allowed to take his goods."

But the cases of this kind were very rare, and throughout Ireland the Quakers suffered very little from plundering, and only one young man, who insisted on arming himself, was killed. At the same time their own Protestant neighbors were pillaged and slain by the score. In the horrible massacre at "the Scullabogue Barn," a whole company of Protestants were shut up and burned to death.

On the other hand, the Quakers in numerous instances acted as protectors of both sides in turn, and also as mediators. In other cases a certificate from a Friend was sufficient to save the lives of prisoners. The officers set guards over the property of Friends, a soldier pronounced a eulogium on the Quakers, and on two occasions the official action was determined by the belief that "Quakers will not lie." As a result of this confidence the Friends were dismissed after trial, while others tried with them were sent to execution.

While the insurgents were in control the homes of Quakers were invaded, and their lives narrowly imperilled, but they invariably were

¹ Weeks, "Southern Quakers and Slavery," p.131.

spared. Guns were levelled and even snapped at some, a rope was placed about the neck of another, threats and plots were made, only to die from lack of momentum. On several occasions a word, such as "Desist from murder!" or "Thou canst not touch a hair of my husband's head, unless Divine Providence permit thee."—was sufficient to cause the uplifted sword to fall to the ground and the would-be assassin to withdraw in discomfiture. All these experiences suggest the thought that the method of the powerful men of ill-will is force; that of the weak men of ill-will is fraud; while that of the men of good-will is unswerving honesty and fair dealing toward all. The practice of passive resistance is inseparably connected with sincerity and kindness, and its ways open and universal. On the other hand diplomacy, the science and art of secrecy and deception, is the handmaid of government in the field of international affairs, where brute force reigns supreme, and punctilious courtesy is the silken glove beneath which lurks the mailed fist of violence. Generalizing from the instances presented under this third class, we have this Principle: Success in such cases depends upon the reputation of the sect for benevolence, square dealing, and peaceable intentions, or neutrality in the existing struggle.

4. The fourth typical case of passive resistance is that where a passive resistant group is threatened by foreign aggressors.

A persistent but unauthenticated anecdote will serve to introduce this group of illustrations. It is that of a Tyrolese village of passive resisters who were informed by courier that troops were coming to take the town. "They quietly answered, 'if they will take it, they must.' Soldiers soon came, riding in with colors flying, and fifes piping their shrill defiance. They looked round for an enemy, and saw the farmer at his plow, the blacksmith at his anvil, and the women at their churns and spinning-wheels. Babies crowed to hear the music and

1881
1882
1883

boys ran out to see the pretty trainers, with feathers and bright buttons, 'the harlequins of the nineteenth century.' Of course none of these were in a proper position to be shot at. 'Where are your soldiers?' they asked. 'We have none,' was the brief reply. 'But we have come to take the town.' 'Well, friends, it lies before you.' 'But is there nobody here to fight?' 'No, we are all Christians.' Here was an emergency altogether unprovided for by the military schools. This was a sort of resistance which no bullet could hit; a fortress perfectly bomb-proof. The commander was perplexed. 'If there is nobody to fight with, of course we can't fight,' said he. 'It is impossible to take such a town as this.' So he ordered the horses' heads to be turned about, and they carried the human animals out of the village, as guiltless as they entered, and perchance somewhat wiser."¹

Although this anecdote may have no more foundation in fact than Ray Stannard Baker's story, "The German Invasion of America, A.D., 1915-'16,"² both are expressions of a truth which was uttered by Lao Tse in the saying, "It is because he is free from striving that no one can strive with him;" and repeated by Seneca when he said, "The displeasure suddenly quailleth whenas the one part forbearereth to contend."

The traveler Raymond declares, in his "Travels in the Pyrenees,"³ that he had many a time put this principle to a successful test. Speaking ^{of} assassins and smugglers who infested the mountains, to the terror of travelers, he says: "Their first movement is a never-failing shot, and certainly would be an object of dread to most travelers.*** As for myself, alone and unarmed, I have met them without anxiety, and accompanied them without fear.*** Armed, I should have been the enemy of both; unarmed, they have alike respected me. In such expectation, I have long

¹ "Safety of Pacific Principles," loc. cit., p. 352.

² In the American Magazine, Jan. 1915.

³ Quoted by Hancock in "Principles of Peace Exemplified," p. 94.

since laid aside all menacing apparatus whatever." Says the author of "The Safety of Pacific Principles;" "Even savages feel the charm of this principle. About the year 1812, Indiana was the scene of Indian hostilities, but the Shakers, though without forts or arms, lived in perfect safety while the work of blood and fire was going on all around them. 'Why,' said the whites afterward to one of the Indian chiefs, 'why did you not attack the Shakers as well as others?' 'What!' exclaimed the savage, 'we warriors attack a peaceable people! We fight those who won't fight us! Never; it would be a disgrace to hurt such a people.'" During the Indian troubles in the later history of Pennsylvania, it is related by the Quaker minister and traveler Thomas Chalkley,¹ that among the hundreds slain he heard of only three Friends who were killed. Of these, two were men who, contrary to the Quaker custom, went to their work with weapons, and the third was a woman who had sought refuge in a fort. An exactly similar fate met the only Friend who took to arms during the Irish Rebellion.

Hume observed that "a disposition to rebellion" among a people "is one chief cause of tyranny in the rulers and forces them into many violent measures."² This applies the principle to the internal affairs of a nation, while the Wilson-Bryan policy in Mexico showed its bearing upon international relations. That Mexican incident served to show, by contrast, the difference between the learned stupidity of professional diplomacy and the common-sense wisdom of a simple, frank and perfectly sincere attitude of Christian good-will infused into the affairs of nations.³

¹ Quoted by Hancock, op.cit., p.86.

² "Essays", No. XII. "Of Passive Obedience."

³ That this conviction is growing is shown by the editorial in the Chicago Herald, about August 15, 1914, on "Watchful Waiting vs. Warlike Watching;" also the editorial, "A Great Captain," in the Madison State Journal, May 17, 1915.

To be sure the "heathen raged" and "imagined a vain thing," but the conciliatory attitude not only prevented another war but signally advanced the cause of right dealing among nations.

It was this principle that governed the dealings of William Penn and his followers with the Indians of Pennsylvania. Its success, over a period of seventy years, was so extraordinary that it need not be rehearsed. The whole world knows it well, as the one bright page in the dark history of American aggression against the aboriginal inhabitants of this continent. When war with the French and Indians at last became imminent, the Friends, as has been fully rehearsed in an earlier chapter, relinquished their control of the Assembly. All that need be added here is a few words on the real merits of the success and failure of Quaker government in Pennsylvania. Sharpless says "the glowing words of Andrew Hamilton, when giving up his place as speaker of the Assembly in 1739, were undoubtedly true: 'It is not to the fertility of our soil or the commodiousness of our rivers that we ought chiefly to attribute the great progress this province has made within so small a compass of years *** it is all due to the excellency of our Constitution *** and this Constitution was framed by the wisdom of Mr. Penn.¹'"

The Quaker peace regime was good while it lasted, and it produced no bad after-effects. The illogical attempt to connect it with the present-day corruption of Pennsylvania politics has been fully refuted.² President Sharpless attributes "the breakdown of Quaker policy, in 1756, *** to the injection into the political situation of the non-Quaker management of the Proprietors. As long as exact justice prevailed peace existed, and this is the lesson of Pennsylvania."³

¹ "A History of Quaker Government in Pennsylvania," by Isaac Sharpless, vol. I., pp. 55-56.

² See "Ills of Pennsylvania" by "A Pennsylvanian" in the Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 88, (Oct. 1901), and the reply of "A Pennsylvania Quaker,"

³ "The Causes of Pennsylvania's Ills," *ibid.* vol. 89, (Jan. 1902)
³ "Hist. of Quaker Govt. in Pa.," vol. I., p. 247.

To this may be added the fact that the policy of peace and fair-dealing was hampered greatly by the ruthless aggressions of the non-Quaker and non-German inhabitants of the frontier. Having insisted on appealing to the sword, they came inevitably to perish by the sword, and then it was that the Friendly regime was loudly proclaimed a failure. It was a success in all its constructive work; it proved, to be sure, a failure when it came to rescuing by violence the men of violence from the recoil of their own aggressions. William Penn's policy would, if pursued throughout our national history, have solved the Indian problem from the start.

The work of the Moravians among the Indians was ruined by the same influences. We have seen how the flourishing settlements on the Tuscarawas were wiped out by the American militia, although indemnity was later given for the loss. Yet the Moravians continued their labors hampered as they were, but, just when their efforts among the Cherokees were bearing fruit, the whole enterprise was ruined by the ruthless confiscation of the Indian lands committed by the state of Georgia, and sustained by the government of the United States. In this deal the whites openly robbed the Indians of 8000 square miles, guaranteed to them by treaties.¹

The following passage² indicates in part the principle in operation here, although the argument is here applied to individuals rather than groups. "Professed and consistent peace advocates and non-combatants have always been respected and left unmolested, except by a few desperadoes, who became outlawed thereby.*** So in the case of duelling in its worst prevailing days; the man who possessed the high, rational

¹See Taylor, "History of the Moravian Church in America; also any reliable history of the United States.

² Daniel S. Curtis, in an address before the Arbitration Anti-War League, published in "The National Review" (newspaper), Saturday, Aug. 9, 1891.

principle and true moral courage to refuse and denounce it, was not molested; that man would sink into infamy who dared to challenge him. The most violent fire-raters dared not challenge J.Q. Adams, though in argument he lashed them severely."

Generalizing from the features common to all the instances described under this fourth category, we find the following Principle: in cases where a passive resistant group is threatened by foreign foes, its safety depends upon the absence of an attitude or appearance of provocation in the former, and the strength of the spirit of fair play in the latter.

Numerous accounts are to be found showing the success of passive resistance under circumstances which do not fall clearly under any of the above types. Some may be explained by gratitude for unexpected magnanimity or former kindness, and others are attributable to the influence of religious awe. Such is the case where Alexander the Great was over-awed by Jaddus, the Jewish high-priest, as narrated by William Ladd on the authority of Josephus, the Jewish antiquarian, and Rollin's Ancient History.¹

The words "success" and "failure" have been used in this chapter in their ordinary sense, as meaning simply the accomplishment of the object in view. That object is not always, in the case of the passive resistant, the preservation of his own life. He does not ask a larger exemption than others enjoy. No one has a more precarious prospect in that respect than the man of violence. The passive resistant places before himself a higher goal than mere security, and frequently makes it clear that he measures success from a point of view that includes two worlds. For all the great passive resistant types are sincerely reli-

¹ Described by Ladd, in his "Brief Illustration of the Principles of War and Peace," pp. 74-75. His citations are Josep. Ant. bk. XI, ch. VII; Rollin's Anc. Hist. Vol. V. sec. 7.

ious. Hancock argues that the policy itself has no meaning apart from belief in the immortality of the soul. The Friends in Ireland attributed their preservation to the God they sought to serve. Our effort here has been to find the social laws by which that preservation, whatever its ultimate source, actually operates among men. Science seeks verifiable laws and principles, but the writer has attempted to avoid the all too common error of becoming unphilosophical in the effort to be scientific. This actually happens when one starts out to consider only verifiable data, yet, often unconsciously, makes the assumption that there is no God and that no evidence pointing to such an hypothesis will be admitted. This is the dogmatism of science. But when a philosopher-scientist so great as Professor James can begin his researches in pragmatic philosophy¹ with the avowed object of loosening up the joints of this cast-iron universe in order to leave a little room for personal faith, we need not fear to admit that some things which transpired in Ireland, and elsewhere, can be explained no better than upon the hypothesis of the principal actors in that drama, viz., that sometimes a Higher Consciousness directs the minds of men.

¹ "Pragmatism," by William James.

CHAPTER VIII.

GENERALIZATIONS AND CONCLUSION.

Passive, or moral, resistance, is the positive aspect of a mode of reaction to social environment, of which non-resistance is the negative phase. The latter tends to pass into pure passivism, which resists no evil, either by physical, moral, or political means. It simply endures. True passive, or moral, resistance, is essentially social, and is found only in highly organized societies, where public opinion and free institutions direct the life of the social group or community. Passive resistance, thus broadly conceived, is both individual and collective, personal and social.

In the vast, swarming populations of the Orient, with their traditional, custom-bound social order and despotic governments, the individual is overwhelmed by weight of numbers and it is not surprising that under this "fatalism of the multitude"¹ reaction to environment should take the form of asceticism and a negative passivism. In China and India we have found only non-resistance, and it is elaborated on its strictly personal side. In other words, it does not go to work by social and political means to overcome and eradicate evil both individual and social. The vast and undemocratic universality of the Roman Empire seems to have had the same effect; hence both Roman Stoicism and early Christianity had little to say about the application of moral resistance to public affairs.

In the second place, one finds no organized expression of such non-resistance as existed in those civilizations. This holds true for both theory and practice. Chinese Tâoism, Hindoo Buddhism, and Roman Stoicism—none of these systems of thought attempted to apply the principle of non-resistance, so clearly enunciated by them, to the problems

¹ Cf. Ross, "Social Psychology," p. 40.

of the magistracy or war. Primitive Christianity was not much more explicit, yet it presented, from the very beginning, a powerful and growing opposition to war as a wicked enterprise. Yet even in this case the teaching was enunciated entirely in connection with the problems of the individual salvation of the comparative few who had come out from the world into a separate moral universe. Yet, under the combined influence of Christianity and the political and social differentiation of Europe in modern times, the Christian teaching of passive resistance has been greatly elaborated with respect to its political applications and its organized expression through the modern peace sects.

A certain stage of social evolution would seem indispensable to the emergence of passive resistance on any considerable scale. Non-resistance, much less passive resistance, can scarcely exist in the military type of society so fully described by Spencer.¹ The militaristic régime in full vigor would destroy those who should seek to practice non-resistance, and it fosters an atmosphere unfriendly to independent thinking, substituting for it the stupid program of martinet arrogance and unthinking submission or subordination.

Nevertheless, the very process of mutual destruction constituted a sort of social selection by which the violent tended to eliminate themselves, and also the merely servile, at the other extreme. Moreover, the gradual extension of the industrial order, never entirely lacking even in the worst stages of predatory society, left some quiet nooks where the seeds of peace might spring up and grow. Professor Ross has shown how there survives from the era of unrestrained violence "a type of man who has the will and the strength to resist encroachments on his

¹ "Principles of Sociology" by Herbert Spencer. Vol. I., pp. 552 and 556.

own sphere, but not the will or the strength to impose upon others".¹ The passive resistant is simply a variant from this type of man. He has both the will and the strength to resist encroachments but he wills not to resist by violent means.

The modern peace movement owed its beginning, and still draws its main support, from that great body of non-predatory, industrial, peaceable people who make up the lower and middle classes. Their milder disposition, or at least their less aggressive interests, have been clearly recognized by Veblen.² The tendency of the industrial life to foster the milder traits and more humane feelings and ideas has been explained very clearly by Fiske in his discussion of the causes of persecution.³ Probably the decline of a mode of life based on the constant slaughter of animal life and fellow-humans and the substitution of economic methods of support had much to do with the progress of such an idea as this of passive resistance. Professor Ross truly says that "No brutal people ever discovered that God is Love or that men are brothers."⁴

But the inchoate feelings and half-formed ideas of men in the mass must be voiced by men of genius who formulate what their fellows dimly feel. The unique and transcendent insight of Jesus, as well as his incomparable personality, can be adequately described in no other terms than those of a genuine revelation of spiritual and moral truth. His moral supremacy in all subsequent history is simply a given fact which it is not in the power or the province of this essay to explain. The life and teaching of Jesus gave a powerful impetus to the peace movement, and his followers elaborated it into a theory of individual

1 "Social Control", p. 38.

2 "The Theory of the Leisure Class", pp. 246-249.

3 In "Excursions of An Evolutionist", by John Fiske.

4 "Social Control", p. 208.

and social conduct. The ideas of these passive-resistant sects, concerning the possibilities of passive resistance as a workable policy in all human affairs, personal and social, national and international, may be counted a form of moral discovery or social invention.¹ Being a manifestation of moral and social idealism, its influence must be traced in the rational processes of society.²

Lester F. Ward has laid the scientific and philosophical basis for the explanation of the utter futility of terroristic methods, or "direct action", so clearly exposed by Hunter.³ This whole line of thought throws light on the true reason for the effectiveness of passive resistance. It is a form of Ward's moral and social "indirection", and shares in the fruitfulness of all such methods, which penetrate, by round-about arrangements, to the root of the thing they propose to modify.⁴ Violence, for precisely opposite reasons, is essentially reactionary and self-destructive. Bakounin, the apostle of the terroristic Propaganda of the Deed, expressed unconsciously this truth when he broke with his own pupil in violence, Netchayeff, saying in despair, "an alliance with him could only prove disastrous for everyone concerned."⁵ Violence thus demonstrates its absolutely disruptive nature, but passive resistance, on the other hand, is socially workable. Passive resistants, however, have usually to measure the success of their policy in the long run, because they often stand for ideas and ideals which will be more generally adopted at a later stage of social developement. Rejected by their own age they may be socially selected as the spiritual leaders of the future.⁶ Meanwhile, in every case its dependence on intellectual and moral influences strengthens the sway of ideas and the régime of

1 Cf. Elwood, "Sociology in its Psychological Aspects", pp. 267-268.

2 Ibid., Ch. VIII.

3 In his "Violence and the Labor Movement."

4 Cf. Ward, "Pure Sociology", p. 470

5 Hunter, op. cit., p. 24. 6 Cf. Elwood, op. cit., pp. 270-271.

democracy. It is a constructive social principle.

In pursuing his idealistic program the passive resistant has to reckon with two aspects of social control: (1) Public opinion in its popular and riotous forms; and, (2) Public opinion crystalized in the form of law, and represented in ecclesiastical hierarchy and the civil magistrates. The history of the persecutions endured by passive resistants, and most other religious innovators seems to show that the latter are almost invariably opposed by the official hierarchy, and by it alone in most cases where a sect differentiates from the social mass, within the community. For such indigenous moral variations the popular mind always shows a large measure of sympathy. The hostility of the masses is aroused, however, in cases where an alien religion is grafted into the national life, as with the Jews and early Christians and Roman government, or where the sect is accused of moral and social practices which shock the sensibilities of the age. This is illustrated in the popular fury against the early Christians because of the false reports of their enemies, and again when the reversionary marriage system of the Mormons aroused the hostility of a monogamic society. In most other instances where the populace takes a hand in persecutions it is in the capacity of the ignorant and brutish mob aroused and steered by designing officialdom.

This situation is accounted for by Lecky's law of the average probability of heresy and orthodoxy;¹ which is in turn explained by the fact that no social movement is an isolated phenomenon. Its very flowering forth in the national life shows that the soil was prepared and the

¹ In his "History of Rationalism in Europe", as quoted in the preceding chapter.

social atmosphere more or less congenial. The fierce persecution inflicted on the modern peace sects by the religio-political machine, in the face of a very genuine and wide-spread popular approval of them, is due to the law, so fully worked out by Professor Ross,¹ that the two sides of any culture fabric do not change at the same rate. The result is that the forces of change accumulate and precipitate conflicts within the society. This is exactly what happened in the case of the modern passive resistant sects. Centuries of the mild teachings of Christianity, even under the semi-political and violent state churches, had prepared the social mind for the toleration of their ideas. But the rigid system of dogma, creed, ritual, vested economic interests, and graduated officialdom did not change so rapidly, and relentlessly endeavoured to crush out the innovators. This conflict was rendered the more inevitable because the doctrines of passive resistance are invariably political in their effects, as preceding chapters have shown.

In meeting the opposition of the political and ecclesiastical powers the passive resistants have shown themselves strong to suffer. These are their "tokens of power"², and the laws of crowd psychology have often worked in their favor. The courage, devotion, and spectacular sufferings of the martyr tremendously impress the imagination of the crowd, producing "a startling image that fills and besets the mind".³ The further fact must not be overlooked that the infliction of punishment and martyrdom is made a public affair by the persecuting authorities, in the very nature of the case. They not only seek to impress the public mind; they depend upon the multitude to make the affair a success, although the people frequently play a very disappointing part

1 In "Social Psychology", Chapter XX.

2 Cf. Ross, "Social Psychology", p. 31.

3 LeBon, "The Crowd", p. 58.

from the standpoint of the party of bigotry. Allard has shown¹ how it was the practice in the early Christian persecutions to make the occasion "a spectacle and a fête". The crowd around the scene of torture, he finds, were "not only spectators, they were almost actors: the crowd filled then a rôle analogous to that of the chorus in the antique tragedy; it was to be heard loudly expressing its sentiments: many times even, and as if unconsciously, it fell to it to distinguish the various moral aspects of the drama which was being played before it." A sort of social dialectic is thus set in motion by these "men of ardent conviction" who have always exercised the power to sway the multitude.² The spectacle of such suffering for a cause may lead even the persecutor to re-examine his own dogmas, if only with the object of revelling in their correctness. But reexamination admits new light, this modifies his view, and often the conquered becomes the conqueror. The whole process not only gives a powerful impulse to sympathy³ but it liberates "idea forces", that is to say impulses to action aroused by ideas.⁴ This method of resistance has this immeasurable social merit, viz., that it does not cause a reversion to lower instinctive levels,⁵ as in the case of the terrorist or even the warrior. So effective is this social indirection of the passive resistant that eventually persuasion on the part of government becomes a wise policy, as Ward has pointed out.⁶

By their striking devotion to principle and their peculiarities, the image of the peace sect, as the symbol of a certain moral and social integrity, becomes impressed upon the public mind, figures in literature

1 In his "Dix Lecons sur le Martyre", pp. 332-333. 2 LeBon, op. cit., p. 114.
 3 Elwood, *ibid.*, p. 323. 4 Ward, *ibid.*, pp. 473-474.
 5 Elwood, *ibid.*, pp. 264-265.
 6 *Ibid.*, pp. 569-570.

art, and even in advertising¹, and is of value to all concerned. It protects its bearers by capitalizing the past history of the sect for integrity and good-will, and it inspires, through imitation, the same qualities in others. Thus, in the end, persecution as a short-cut to uniformity², goes down in defeat before the roundabout moral and social indirection of passive resistance.

Emigration is usually the recourse of the passive resistant when human endurance begins to fail. In such an event two results usually follow. His departure is deplored by the community that cast him out, and others are eager to give him room. This is largely due to his integrity, good-order, and economic efficiency, which latter presents no exceptions.

As an idea and an ideal, passive resistance never advanced beyond the personal, or dyadic, aspects, in Asia, because the growth of the "social constitution"³ had been arrested, and the conditions for free political expression and powerful personality were lacking. The intimate participation of the citizen in his own national state did not exist. With the advent of Christianity the testimony against war appeared, but it grew more tense in modern times. At that time, with the rise of national states, the citizen became more closely identified with government, while at the same time the constant and increasing friction between such states gave a new meaning and importance to war. From its relation to the coercive and military activities of the state, passive resistance in Europe during modern times has been really a political doctrine of the utmost public importance.

1 The Quakers are now engaged in a vigorous campaign to obtain legislation forbidding the use of their denominational name as a trade-mark on commercial products.

2 Cf. Ross, "Social Psychology", Ch. XVII.

3 Cf. Giddings, "Principles of Sociology".

Beginning in religious teachings and conscientious convictions, the doctrine is best denoted at that stage by the term non-resistance. Later it becomes re-enforced by the softening and refinement of feeling, and the extension of the peaceable and orderly relations of industrial life and international solidarity. Yet parallel with this cosmopolitan movement has gone a great intensification of national egotism and hostility. The result is that the present generation has witnessed the culmination of two antagonistic tendencies, viz., the spread of a deep-seated abhorrence of the brutalities of war and a vast extension of military conscription and military establishments. This, taken with the developement of a systematic philosophy of violence, has produced a situation as tense as anything that the history of the peace movement can present.

Passive resistance, as remarked, has three roots, viz., the religious, the humanitarian, and the economic motives. Of these three, the first-named is original and fundamental. Hancock¹ and others have shown that passive resistance as practised in Ireland by the Moravians and Friends, and also in Pennsylvania, has no rational meaning apart from faith in the immortality of the soul and a future life. The tremendous vitality of the movement has been directly due to the religious motive, although the developement of social philosophy will probably vindicate its social and purely temporal value. Tolstoy expressed the conviction that the spread of humanitarian feeling will eventually put an end to militarism and war as they now exist.² But it remains to be seen how much vitality the principle can show apart from that older type of religion which, with all its faults, gave to a

1 In his "Principles of Peace Exemplified".

2 In the "Beginning of the End".

human life the incomparable value and significance of an immortal being, within the arena of whose earthly life, the forces of two eternal realms contended.

The anarchistic repudiation of civil government, manifested by passive resisters of the negative, non-resistant type, was apparently an aberration, due to a doctrinaire interpretation of the Christian tradition as an absolute taboo on the use of force for any purpose, even by the social group. This dilemma is solving itself through the extension of true democratic government¹ and the humane methods of modern penology. The problem of war remains, and perhaps it can never be solved except through the united efforts of religious conviction, humanitarian feeling, and such improved social arrangements, national and international, as scientifically guided social self-direction can devise. By the combined use of all these means "the occasion for wars" may not only be "taken away", as from the heart of men like George Fox, but also removed from the world of external affairs.

In the last analysis passive resistance is an ideological phenomenon, due, not to a different type of mankind, but to a certain ideal of life, introduced into the western world with the advent of Christianity, and perpetuated and elaborated in its applications by the early church and the later peace sects. The whole history of the principle has shown it to be inseparably identified with the unswerving practice of truthfulness and justice. The passive resister, an ordinary human being controlled by an uncommon ideal, has fought a good fight, and, despite the hardships and sufferings of the moment, is sure of final triumph, for the increasing purpose of the ages is with him.

¹ Cf. Dealey, "The Ethical and Religious Significance of the State," and "The Development of the State."

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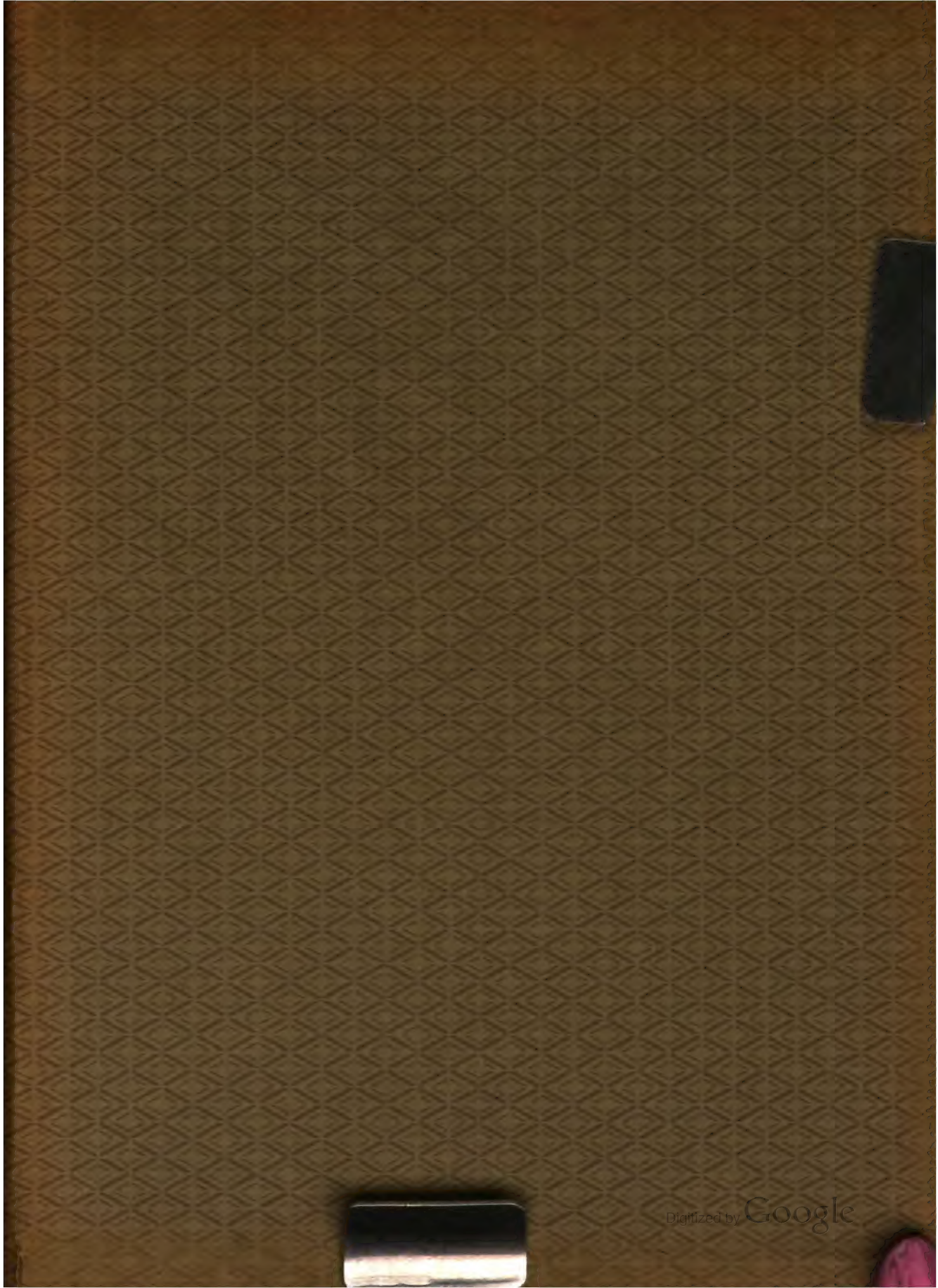
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